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CONTENTS

	PAGES
GLEANINGS FROM MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS OF VILLAGE AMATHUA IN GAYA BY S. H. ASKARI	1
TWO WALAJAHI PERSIAN GRANTS TO A VISHNU TEMPLE IN TIRUCHIRAPALLI BY K. R. VENKATARAMAN AYYAR	8
A SANNYASI AGITATOR FROM LUCKNOW AMONG THE SANTALS OF HAZARIBAGH BY NANDALAL CHATTERJI	11
RELATIONS BETWEEN MADHAV RAO AND JANUJI BHONSLE BY V. S. CHITALE	13
A CONTEMPORARY MUTINY ACCOUNT: MEMORIAL OF AN INDIGO PLANTER BY K. K. DATTA	19
CHAKRAVARTI AYYANGAR OF TANJORE BY V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR	26
LA JEUNESSE ET LE MARIAGE DE MME DE MAUDAVE BY YV. R. GAEBELE	29
TRADE UNION SPIRIT AMONG THE WEAVERS OF BENGAL TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BY HARI RANJAN GHOSAL	42
STAMFORD RAFFLES AND THE GELLESPIE CALUMNIES BY S. N. DAS GUPTA	44
THE ARCHIVES OF THE VAISHNAVA MATHA OF SARASWATHA BRAHMAN AT PARTHAGALI BY G. H. KHARE	50
THE PANJABI AKHBAR BY K. SAJAN LAL	56
COLONEL BAIRD AT TIRUPPARANKUNRAM BY T. V. MAHALINGAM	62
POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE FRENCH IN INDIA BEFORE 1777 BY R. C. MITRA	67
A NOTE ON SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF MAHFUZ KHAN BAHADUR BY S. NATARAJAN	71
TWO FARMANS OF SHAH JAHAN TO THE RANA OF UDAIPUR BY SH. ABDUR RASHID	74
A 'MEMOIRE' ON FRANCO-MARATHA NEGOTIATIONS FROM 1770 TO 1783 BY S. P. SEN	78
A NOTE ON THE RAJARATANKARA BY G. N. SHARMA	84
NAGPUR BHONSLE MARATHI PAPERS BY T. S. SHEJWALKAR	87
MACARTNEY, THE CARNATIC AND TANJORE BY C. S. SRINIVASA- CHARI	90

GLEANINGS FROM MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS OF VILLAGE AMATHUA IN GAYA

By S. H. Askari

Much of the local private records in which Bihar was once very rich has perished owing to the apathy and lack of interest of their owners, and other factors such as natural decay and sudden wholesale destruction through fire, flood and civil disturbances¹. Despite all these, however, one can still find in the interior and out of the way places many old families possessing manuscripts, particularly concerning property and landed rights, which originally belonged to some of their forbears noted for their piety and learning. Knowing the existence of such a family² with plenty of untapped material in its possession the writer paid two flying visits to village Amathua seven miles to the east of Jahanabad. There he saw the remains of ancient times and made copious notes from a large number of documents, including *farmans* and *sanads*, *parwanas*, official letters, *mahzarnamas*, etc., belonging to the 17th and the 18th centuries. There are a dozen *farmans*, more than two dozen *sanads* and numerous *parwanas*, *tashiks*, *arzis*, etc. He discovered some loose sheets of two MSS—*Shajarat-ul-Ansab-un-Nurania* and *Tuhfat-ul-Aqran*³ which contain brief references to the recipients of the *farmans*, *sanads*, renewals etc. and this enabled him to trace their connection with the Amathua family. There are other⁴ MSS and printed works, including journals and magazines, now out of print, which need not be considered here. The present paper represents an attempt to show how such private records lying neglected and uncared-for in straggling obscure villages which were once centres of learning and culture add something to, and fill up some gaps in, our knowledge of the past.

Many of the villages to which reference is made in the documents under consideration show evidences of their former importance. Amathua or Umta⁵ which now looks so small may have been at one time in a more

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¹ A typical instance may be mentioned. The writer learnt that a zemindar of Teladha in Patna had in his possession a large number of *sanads*, *farmans*, etc., particularly some manuscripts relating to a *dargah* of Saiyid Yusuf noticed by Cunningham in A. S. Report vols. VIII and XI. But before the writer had an opportunity of examining them, they were destroyed in the civil disturbances at the end of 1946. Only the Sangin Masjid of the Tughlak period is still standing while the fate of the epigraph of Sher Shah dated 950 A.H. also referred to by Cunningham is unknown. In another case some valuable documents dating from the period of Jehangir were lost to us due to the migration of the owner to Pakistan.

² The writer feels indebted to Shah Fazlullah and his nephew, Shah Taha, for showing their valuable papers.

³ Another copy of this book was shown to me at Patna by Mr. Md. Shamsuddin, a member of the same family to whom the writer's thanks are due.

⁴ Some of them are, perhaps, not available elsewhere

⁵ So mentioned in the "Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Gaya, 1911—18" by E. I. Tanner. It says that "village Umta in Jahanabad Sub-Division had been partitioned into 4 *Tauzis* which did not form compact blocks but were scattered all over the villages..... the *Maliks* have no *bakast* lands in the village and cannot collect a pice of rent" p. 55. This is what the writer also learnt from the members of the family and references to Islampur Amathua, Rampur Amathua, Khas Mahal Amathua, Chak Ghausia, etc., in Pargana Bhilawar tell the same thing.

flourishing condition. Many cut stone slabs of rough granite lying here and there with holes made by iron pegs prove the existence of pre-Muslim buildings—sure sign of its prosperity even before the advent of the Muslims. These stone slabs must have furnished material for the mosques and madrasas, *rouzas* and *khangahs* of the new settlers. These in turn have now disappeared but repeated references to the expenses⁶ thereof are found in the documents. Within a walled enclosure on an elevated ground to the north of the village there are five old tombs which are situated in a row and were apparently built at one and the same time. These are reputed to be of "Haji martyrs". To the south of this, at a place where a *karbala* was built later there stood a Sher Shahi mosque erected at time when the Great Sur had not assumed the sovereignty of India, though he had become the *de facto* ruler of Bihar. This is evident from a dated epigraph incised on a stone slab measuring 8" x 35" and having unmistakably Hindu decorative motifs on its back. This epigraph which is the earliest dated record yet discovered of Sher Shah is remarkable in that the 'Khan' had not yet been replaced by 'Shah' or Sultan with other pompous titles, the usual blessing for the perpetuation of the kingdom is conspicuous by its absence, there is mention of some names which owing to the obliteration of letters and even of words could not be read correctly and it contains two dates 935 and 941 in the third line⁷. Another walled enclosure contains numerous old brick-built tombs including those of certain persons mentioned in the documents examined namely, Shaikh Md. Chishti⁸, Saiyid Md. Fazil Qadiri⁹, Badr Alam Qadiri¹⁰, Saiyid Abdul Haq, and last but not the least, Mulla Md. Shafi, and Mulla Md. Faiq, two of the four great scholars¹¹ of Bihar

⁶ The documents drawn in favour of Budda Sufi, Mullah Karimullah Sh. Ahmad, Farid, Sh. Abdus Saadat, Sh. Yakub, Sh. Zahiruddin, refer to such expenses. The Rauza of Sh. Md. Chishti and of Sh. Fazil have been specially mentioned and Chak Ghausia was allotted to meet the expenses of the 'Urs' of the founder of the Qadiri order.

⁷ The hurried reading of the text so far as it could be deciphered is as follows : "*Qalan-Nabi Alahis Salaam. Min Bana Masjidan lillah Bena-Allah Lahu Baitan Fil-Jannah. Bana-i-Khan-i-Azam. Shaikh. Malik-ul-Aali. Nuhaini. (2) Dar Ahd-i-Bandagi Hazrat-i-Aali Sher Khan Wald Hasan Khan Sur Ba Ismeh Khawaja Khaldi Nasal, Miran Daud Abadal (3) Shahur San Khams Salasin-o-Tisameata Yaumul Ahad (Sunday) Al Isna Wa Ashar (12).*"

Min Shaher-in-Shaaban Snn 941 (1537 A.D.)." That there is a reference in the Amathus papers to Zubdatul Wasellen Daud Abdal is significant.

⁸ An interesting Sanad bearing the seal of "Jafar Khan Banda-i-Badshah Alamgir 1079" mentioning Khidmat Guzar Khan, a minister, and Lashkar Khan, a Governor of Bihar, and conferring properties in Pargana Bhilavar for "the repair of mosque and expenses of the Khangah (now not in existence) and maintenance of Bibi Rabia, Zainab Khadija and Daulat shows that, these were descendants of "Zubdat-ul-wasilen Sh. Md. Chishti." It is dated 12th year of the reign.

⁹ A descendant of the founder of the Qadiri order and of Qazi Saiyed Ismail Qadiri. There are references to a *farman* conferring lands in Shaikhpur Korsar on his sons and dependants in a *parwana* bearing seals of Raja Daler Singh Raushan Rai, the Diwan of a suba of Bihar, and also to a *parwana* relating to the jagir of Nawab Abu Nasr Khan and bearing the seals of Qazi Md. Yusuf and Sh. Badr Alam Naib Qazi and the attestations of Mulla Shafi, Deodat, Subul, Lalman, Kanungos and Ishqullah, Dost Md., and Md. Mah about the Madad-i-Maash lands for the expenses of the "sacred Rauza" of Mir Md. Fazil who must have been a very important man before Mulla Shafi.

¹⁰ A descendant of Abdul Qadir Gilani and of the Bihar saint, Saiyid Ibrahim Abdal, son of the famous Ataullah Baghdadi, a disciple of the Bengal saint, Nur Qutab Alam. He held sanads for chawk Ghausia.

¹¹ Of the other two, one belonged to Monghyr and the other was the famous Sh. Razi-uddin "a very learned and high born man of Bhagalpur who got a daily stipend of 3 rupees. He had many other accomplishments such as military skill, administrative capacity, pleasantness of speech and knowledge about most places. His merits were recommended to the Emperor by Qazi Md. Husain of Jaunpur, the censor of the Court and Bakhtawar Khan, the author of Mirat-i-Alam, and a personal attendant of the emperor. He was given the rank of a Sad and the title of Khan (M.A.). He has been mentioned more than once in the histories of Aurangzeb.

who were invited to Delhi by Emperor Aurangzeb and appointed members of a syndicate¹² of celebrated theologians for compiling an authoritative work on Muslim jurisprudence called *Fatawa-i-Hindia* or *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*. To the west of the grave yard in a cell adjoining a brick-built mosque, Mulla Shafi used to sit and impart learned lessons in Arabic to his pupils. A big well just outside the enclosure is also ascribed to Mulla Shafi.

The Mulla's ancestor, Khwaja Mahmud¹³, an Usmani Shaikh, was descended, on his mother's side, in the 11th line, from the celebrated founder of the Qadiri order of sufism named H. Abdul Qadir Gilani. He came from Ghazni *via* Sirhind and Delhi to Bihar in the 14th century during the time of the celebrated saint-scholar of Bihar Sharif, Makhdum Sharafuddin Yahiya Maneiri. He stayed in village Jaganbiga, now replaced by Firozi, but died and lies buried at Kothri Bhajokri near Teladha in Patna, where he is known as Makhdum. Mulla Shafi was a great scholar¹⁴ and a pious Saint. He received his spiritual grace from his maternal uncle, Miran Muhiuddin Qalandar by whose side he has his eternal sleep. On the occasion of the wedding ceremony of Mir Mahdi son of Md. Baqir of Patna, the compiler of *Ganj-i-Rashidi*¹⁵ saw the Mulla and found him to be 101 year old. It is also known that at the time of the renewal of a *sanad* in Farrukhsiyar's reign on 16 Shawwal, 1125, he was still alive. It was in the 11th year of Aurangzeb's reign that he was employed, along with Mulla Md. Faiq, the father-in-law of his only son, Qazi Badii¹⁶, in compiling some portion of the voluminous *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, their respective daily allowance being one rupee and twelve annas and two rupees and a half. After the completion of the work allotted to them in the 16th year of accession, they were granted as *Madad-i-maash* rent free lands to the extent of 130 and 150 bighas respectively. Not much could be gathered about Mulla Md. Faiq except that he was the son of Saiyid Md. Sadiq and was descended from "Qudwat-us-Salikin Makhdum Budd Sufi" who has been mentioned among others, in a *farman* of Jahangir dated Zulqada 1033. Budd Sufi was also a resident of Amathua and a book written by him about the devotional practices of the Qadiri order is available. Besides the direct descendants of Mulla Md. Faiq such as Md. Sharif, Md. Yusuf, Md. Shakir and Gharibullah who all rose to be Qazis and Muhtasibs of various parganas in Jahanabad and Bihar and received grants of lands, Maulana

¹² See *Alamgirnama*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, and *Mirat-i-Alam*. "The Board was presided over by that highest of scholars, Shaikh Nizam, and all scholars engaged in the work were given good pay and subsistence. About 2 lacs were spent in preparing *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* which rendered the world independent of all other books on Jurisprudence." M.A., A.N.

¹³ The author of *Tuhfat-ul-Aqran* says that he was in possession of an old *Safina* by Mulla Shafi wherein he had stated that the Khwaja was the son of the sister of the mother of famous (Gulbarga) saint, Banda Nawaz Saiyed Md. Gisudaraz, son of Saiyid Yusuf Hassani of Delhi.

¹⁴ The Mulla was a good calligraphist as is evident from an autograph copy of an Arabic Mss. now in possession of Shah Quddus Shahib of Patna. It is unfortunately incomplete and bears no date.

¹⁵ This is the *Malfuz* of the famous Jaunpur Sufi saint, Diwan Abdur Rashid, a contemporary of Emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

¹⁶ The owners of the documents at Amathua are the direct descendants of Shah Habibul Hussain, son of the daughter of Maulana Salim, brother of Qazi Rafuzzaman and son of Qazi Badii to whom some *sanads* were also granted. M. Salim's daughter was married to Qazi Md. Sabir son of Qazi Md. Shakir of the Baikunthpur Nawadah, a descendant of Mulla Md. Faiq and of Makhdum Budd Sufi.

Karimullah¹⁷, Abdul Nabi¹⁸, Abdus-Salam, Abdur-Rahim who also figure in the *farmans* and *sanads* were all intimately connected with him.

Owing to limited space one has to remain content with mere gleanings from some of the important documents. Most of the *farmans* are of the usual pattern but one of Shah Jahan, dated 17th Jumada II, year 21, 1057, and bearing the seals and Sharh-i-Dastaks of Allami Sadullah Khan, Vazir, Mirak Shaikh, the Chief Sadr, and Abdul Hai, Diwan Sadr, Brindabandas, Saiyid Ahmad son of Hidayatullah and Miran Saiyid Jalal confirms the grant of Madad-i-maash lands in Pargana Bhilawar since the beginning of Kharif Tanke. In it Abdur Rahim gives his parentage as son of Sh. Abdullah, son of Sh. Abdur Rasul and describes his *hulia* (appearance) as "wheat-coloured, sheep-eyed, with a large forehead, open eyebrows, high nose, and black beard and moustaches". Aurangzeb's *farmans* granting land to the two Amathua saint-scholars who made their contributions to the compilation of the *fatawa* are almost alike in their form and contents. Both begin with Quranic texts not found in similar documents elsewhere and both bear the endorsements of Rizvi Khan¹⁹, the Chief Sadr, Asad Khan, the Chief Bakshi, Sh. Abdul and Mohan Das, but the Waqia navis in one is Mirza Beg and in the other is Md. Baqir. The *farman* in favour of Md. Faiq is dated Friday, 6th Zulqada, year 16th, corresponding to Isfandiyar 1083 whereas that in favour of Mulla Md. Shafi, is dated 22 Zulhijja, year 16. The *farman* granting Md. Faiq 2½ rupees daily is dated 4th Rabi I, year 11 and the one granting Md. Shafi a daily allowance of Rs. 1/12/- is dated 17th Rabi I, year 11. There are some *farmans* of Aurangzeb dated 12th and 13th years which confirmed Sh. Ghiyasuddin, Md. Nasibun, Mus. Kulzum and Sh. Abus Saadat Khan in the possession of land originally granted by previous *farmans* to their respective ancestors Sh. Abdus-Salam, a descendant of the saint Fariduddin Tabaila Bakhsh²⁰ of Bihar Sharif, Sh. Ahmad, Sh. Yakub and Sh. Farid, after making slight reduction in the lands. The first of these dated Saturday Jumada, I, year 12 or 1080 which refers to a *farman* of Jahangir dated 1034 bears the sealed endorsements of such important officials as Jafar Khan Rizvi, Sh. Ashraf Khan, Md. Rafi (the verifier) and Mirza Beg (the waqainavis). Asad Khan, Rizvi Khan, Mohan Das and Abdul Khal'q appear with their seals in the second and practically the same names occur in the third also. There is nothing remarkable in fresh grants made by Aurangzeb's *farmans*, dated 15 Safar year 12, and Wednesday Jumada I, year 38 or 1106 to Mus. Zuhra of Pargana Bhilawar and to Md. Burhanuddin son of Ali Ahmad of Pargana Okri respectively except that the entries on the back contain in one case the names and seals of Asad Khan, Rizvi Khan, Ashraf Khan, Abdul Khal'q and Md. Rafi and in other those of Rizvi Khan, Asad Khan, Sharif Khan, Mir Shah Muhammad. Then there are the *farmans* of Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah granted on Saturday, 7

¹⁷ There are references to the Madrasa, Masjid, Sajjada and Khanqah of this scholarly saint of Amathua.

¹⁸ A *sanad* bearing the seals of Md. Zia Khan and Fazi Ali Khan Md. Muhammad Shahi and dated 1, Rabi 2, Year 12 or 1142 refers to a *farman* of Aurangzeb dated 13th Year of accession and granting 300 bighas of land in Okri, Muraipur, Madawar as Madad-i-maash for Shah Abdul Nabi and Fatima and for the upkeep of the Khanqahs of Shaikh Budd Sufi and Mullah Karimullah. Abdus Salam was the son of Abdul Nabi.

¹⁹ See *Maasirul Umara* for these personages.

²⁰ Buried at Chandpura in Bihar Sharif, son of the brother of the celebrated Nizamuddin Aulia, the spiritual guide of Amir Khusrau. Also closely related by marriage to, and the disciple of, the Bengali Saint, Nar Qutub Alam who sent him with Ataullah Baghdadi to Bihar.

Jumada I, 1122, and on 19 Ramazan, year 8, or 1138 to Md. Shakir and to Must. Kafi respectively. In the case of the former the entries on the back are those of Sh. Yar Md. Sadr, Murshid Quli Khan, and Md. Usuf, the Waqainigar²¹ and in the latter we get the seal and names of Rahmat Khan and Saiyid Izzatullah Khan. A *farman* of "Md Muazzam Bahadur Shah Shah Alam" dated 7 Shawwal, year... conferring 200 bighas of rent free land on Mus. Sajida in pargana Okri has also no special feature except that in the usual entries on the back we get another date, Friday 14th Zulqada, year I, or 1119 and the sealed endorsements of such important officials as Amjad Khan, the Chief Sadr, Amir-ul-Umara Musrat Jang (Zulfiqar Khan) the chief Bakshi Asafud-daulah (Asad Khan) and Khan-i-Khannan Bahadur Zafar Jang (Munim Khan). In a *farman* of Aurangzeb dated 22 Rabi I, 1102 Fasli bearing as many as 13 seals of both Hindu and Muslim officials and granting lands for the expenses of the Rauza of M. Sh. Nuruddin Husain son of Sh. Bdr. Alam, Mulla Shafi has been described as Moulavi-i-Manavi.

Perhaps more important historically are the *parwanas*, *sanads*, etc., for in them we get names of many historical personages and of geographical places besides some important facts about the system of local administration. In the light of the information available in these documents we can determine the extent of local responsibility for meting out justice, supervising the markets and watching over the morals of the people in rural areas under the Mughals and revise the rather unfair opinion expressed by an eminent historian²² that the smaller towns and all the villages had no Qazi of their own. The fact appears to be that every pargana had a Qazi who decided civil and ecclesiastical cases. He was the judge, *Khatib* (preacher) and Imam of the mosque, supervisor of weights and measures, guardian of the minor orphans and the helpless, manager of the estate of the deceased and unclaimed property—all in his own person. The Pargana had a Muhtasib or censor of morals also. Sometime Khitabat was combined with Ihtisab and there are cases in which the functions of a Qazi, Muhtasib, and Khatib (preacher) were discharged by one and the same person. The Qazi sometimes did teaching work also. He was authorized to appoint some trustworthy person as his Naib whenever he could not himself go and found it necessary to post one. We know these from the papers seen at Amathua which, however, mostly belong to the period of the later Mughals. Perhaps a more organised and elaborate system had prevailed earlier.

There are four or five *Sanads* and *Parwanas* relating to Qazi Gharibullah, a descendent of Makhdum Budd Sufi, and brother of Qazi Md. Shakir. One bearing the seal of "Saiyid Izzat Khan Fidwi-i-Muhammad Farrukhsiyar Badshah-i-Ghazi" dated 17 Shawwal year, 5, or 1128 A. H. says that Md. Ashiq is replaced by Sh. Gharibullah son of Md. Yusuf as Qazi of Pargana Bhimpur and its *mahals* according to the Yaddasht. dated 22 Ramazan year 3. No appointment was made of a Khatib for that place and 57 bighas of the resumed lands were granted to him as *Madad-i-maash* so long as he continued to discharge the duties of the Qazi of that place. He was confirmed as the

²¹ A news writer.

²² Sarkar, Elsewhere in the same book Sarkar *Mughal administration*, 2nd edition, we get however a different opinion "every city and even large village had its local Qazi who was appointed by Chief Qazi," p. 27.

Qazi and the Khatib of Pargana Bhimpur, and in addition, he was given the Khitabat of the Pargana of Baikuntlipur also. He might depute an orthodox scholar as his Naib to the place which he could not himself visit. All the residents of the place big or small, were called upon to accept as authoritative all his letters decrees, bonds and registers bearing his seal. There is a *parwana* from the Diwan-i-Sadarat, bearing the seal of Mufazzul Khan Sadar Jahan during the reign of Farrukhsiyar, addressed to "the agents, Jagirdars, *Karoris* and all the residents of Pargana Bhimpur, Sarkar-i-Bihar", informing them of the appointment of Gharibullah as Qazi and Khatib there in place of Saiyid Muhammad Ashiq. The new incumbent was enjoined to administer justice, decide cases, enforce laws, execute judgements and inflict punishments prescribed by laws, lead the Friday and the congregational prayers, promote acts of devotion, perform the marriages of those who had no guardians, distribute the estate of the deceased, take charge of newly-discovered unclaimed property and the property of the orphans, appoint trustees and do other acts of justice and equity. On the back, the *juliya* of Sh. Gharibullah, son of Sh. Muhammad Yusuf, son of Sh. U. Bikh resident of the town of Bihar has been given as "wheat-coloured with open forehead, eyebrows joined above the nose, high nose, beards and moustaches completely black, a few hair on the ear, three small moles on the *Shahrag* (jugular vein) on the right side and a few marks of smallpox on the face. The same high official of Farrukhsiyar issued another order on the 20th Shahban year 4, appointing Sh. Gharibullah in place of Babullah as a Muhtasib and conferring 20 bighas of the resumed lands of the dismissed Muhtasib in Pargana Ghiyaspur on the new incumbent in addition to his 57 bighas in Pargana Bhimpur. He was enjoined to discharge the new function to the best of his ability, meet out punishment to the drunkard and to those who did unlawful things and who effected changes in weights and measures, alter the yards for measuring cloth and the vessels and other measuring instruments and are guilty of similar iniquitous practices. Another document, bearing the seal of Rahmat Khan, Fidwi of Muhammad Shah, dated 15 Muharram. Year 7 or 1138 says that according to the *Parwana* of "Sadru Sadr Md. Afzal Khan Bahadur" dated 28 Rabi I, year 3 of the "deceased Martyr" (Farrukhsiyar) the mansab of Qaza (justice), Ihtisab (censorship) and Khitabat (preaching) of Pargana Bhimpur of the Sarkar of Bihar had been conferred on Sh. Gharibullah. But subsequently the Qaza and Khitabat of Pargana Bhimpur was given to Sh. Abdul Karim while Saiyid Mahummad was made Qazi of Pargana Baikunthpur and Saiyid Muzaffar Muhtasib of that Pargana. But as it was since known from a reliable source that Sh. Gharibullah was still alive and alert and the news was subsequently verified, he was restored to his post of the Muhtasib and Khatib of Pargana Bhimpur.

A new information is furnished by two *parwanas* addressed to Qazi Md. Shakir, one bearing the seal of Nawab Abid Khan Tar Khan, the Chief Sadr of Ahmad Shah, and dated 2 Jumada year 3, which say that during the time of Khuld Makan (Aurangzeb) the writers of price lists of grains had been dismissed throughout the empire and orders had been issued that the current price of grains of the Pargana bearing seals of the Qazi and verified by Mustaid Khan, Diwan-i-buyutat, and the Qazi should be considered reliable and acceptable. Accordingly the addressee, the protector of the religious laws, was enjoined to deliver the lists of rates of grains of the *mahals* within his jurisdiction to the agent of the Sawanih Nigaran who would despatch them by post so that the imperial government should be in the know of the truth and suffer no loss.

A *sanad*, dated Muharram, Year 15 or 1146 bearing the seal of Md. Zia Khan Khanazad-i-Muhammad Shah dated 1135 and addressed to the people and residents of Pargana Bhimpur, says that the office of the supervisor of revenue matters relating to the holders of stipends or pensions had been conferred on the venerable ecclesiastic Sh. Md. Mah in place of Md. Salim but subsequently it was learnt from a reliable and verified news that the aforesaid personage was alive and firmly fixed and was engaged in discharging the duty allotted to him. Accordingly the 'Tashiha' was being issued so that being attentive to the work attaching to his position, he should not cease for a moment to be vigilant and circumspect in his enquiries about the killed and missing and he should put in his best efforts to detect forgeries concerning the grantees of rent-free lands, stipends and pensions. Having looked closely into the records of the grants of '*Aima Ezam*' he should send a clear and lucid report to the Daftar of Sadarat. The aforesaid personage should be treated as permanently fixed in his post without there being any one to share his work. And the procedure to be observed by that group (grantees) was that having got the Tashihas from the daftar of sadarat and secured attestation through the seals of the said official they should obtain and enjoy the possession of their means of subsistence. They should treat all this as binding and make no deviation from it. A similar *sanad*, dated 15 *Zulhijja*, Year 17, or 1147 and bearing the seal of Mir Md. Amin-ul-Husaini, the Sadr of Md. Shah, dated 1147, says that Sh. Md. Mah who was in-charge of "sarishtadari of Arbab-i-Maasah and Ahl-i-Wazair" has died and, therefore, this office is conferred on, "Mashikhat Panah" Sh. Badr Jahan, son of the deceased.

A *sanad* dated 10 Muharram and bearing the seal of "Zafar Khan Banda-i-Badshah Alamgir" dated 1079, addressed to the officials of Pargana Bhilawar says that as it had transpired that the holders of the rent-free tenures and stipendiaries of the Pargana of Khalisa Sharifa of Sarkar Sarhind, in the Suba of Shahjahanbad, who were in possession of their lands, etc., in accordance with the Sanads granted by the previous officials, were being bothered by the present Mutasaddis who demanded fresh royal Sanads and placed obstructions in the way of their possessions and were resuming their lands, and the grantees were finding it difficult to come to the imperial court to obtain fresh documents, orders were being issued that the sanads obtained since the 11th Year of accession should be considered as valid and the possession of the lands by the grantees of such sanads as legitimate. On this basis 50 bighas of land which had been granted for the expenses of the *masjid* and *Khanqah* of the saint Md. Chishti in Pargana Bhilawar in Bihar should be left to his descendants, Must. Rabia, M. Zainab, M. Khadija and M. Daulat.

TWO WALAJAHI PERSIAN GRANTS TO A VISHNU TEMPLE IN TIRUCHIRAPALLI

By K. R. Venkataraman Ayyar

THE records of the Varadaraja-Venkatesa temple within the fort area of Tiruchirāpalli¹ include two Telugu grants of the reign of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayak of Madurai (1706—32) and two Persian grants² of the Walajahi-dynasty, which are of some historical importance.

Originally there were two temples, the Vēnkatesa temple, which was built by Rāṅgakka, the principle lady-in-waiting in the harem of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, and the Varadaraja temple about a furlong to the south of the former. Both were liberally endowed with lands by the Nayak King. During Chanda Saheb's incursions, the idols of the Venkatesa temple were removed to Tirutavatturai and later to Srirangam. When Muhammad Ali Walajah built the *Masjid-i-Muhammadi*, the Venkatesa temple, which was in close proximity to the mosque, was abandoned, and the idols were removed to the Varadaraja temple where they were finally consecrated. The lands that were granted by the Nayak were resumed soon after Tiruchirapalli was captured by Chanda Saheb, and only two villages were reassigned to the temple together with a small cash payment after Anwaruddin Khan became Nawab of the Carnatic.

The first of the two *parwanas* under review bears the seal of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan, the second son of Nawab Anwaruddin, and is dated the ninth day of the month of *Rajab*, A. H. 1158 (July 27, 1745). It is an order to the Chief Accountants of the Tiruchirapalli taluk to pay Venkaji Gossain, a Maratha Vaishnava ascetic a daily cash allowance of four *fanams* out of the tax collections of the taluk, so that Venkaji, well provided for his maintenance, might spend his time "in praying for the longevity and prosperity" of the Huzur (Mahfuz). Venkaji had by then usurped the trusteeship of the Venkatesa temple.

The second *parwana*³ which is an order to the Secretary, Itibar Khan, issued by Muhammad Ali, Amīrul-Hind Walajah, may be freely rendered as follows:—

"Inamdar Venkaji Gossain, having present a petition to the Huzur praying that in view of his serious illness and the prospect of his dying without heirs, the six *seis* of wet-land in the village

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1. The present authorised correct spelling of Trichīapoly.
2. These are the property of the hereditary trustees of the temple. The present trustee is Sri J. S. Rajagopal Bhattacharya, No. 2, Varadaraja Perumal Kovil Str., Tiruchirapalli.
3. It is dated the eleventh of *Rabiussani*, but the Hijri year is illegible. The text of the grant mentions *fasli* 1181 (A, D, 1771-1).

of Tennur⁴, and five *seis* of wet-land in the village of Elambesaram⁵, —in all eleven *seis* of wet-land in the Konad taluk⁶, and a daily allowance of four *Gopali fanams* out of the tax collection of Nattharnagar⁷, and a customary collection of one *kasu* from each of the shops within the fort of Nattharnagar, previously granted by a *parwana* of Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Bahadur on the ninth of *Rajab*, A. H. 1158 and continuing in his enjoyment till *fasli* 1180 be assigned to Tirumalai Ayyangar, the priest and trustee of the Venkatesa temple, and that a *takid* be issued to that effect to the Accountants of the *Sarkar*, it is ordered that the above lands together with the daily allowance of four *Gopali fanams* and the customary collection of one *kasu* from each of the shops within the fort be continued as *inam* in the name of Tirumalai Ayyangar from the beginning of *fasli* 1181 to meet the expenses of the said temple, and that no obstruction to the trustee's enjoyment of the *inam* be caused⁸”.

The two *parwanas* reflect the spirit of tolerance of the members of the Walajahi House, whose devotion to their religion did not stand in the way of their conceding to the Hindus the right to follow their own faith, and making grants to non-Muslim religious institutions⁹.

The particular interest that the first *parwana* has to the student of the history of the Walajahi dynasty is the status and position of Mahfuz Khan in the Government of the Carnatic. Before A. D. 1746, while Anwaruddin's eldest son Badrul Islam Khan was at Delhi as his father's *naib*, and his third son Hazrat-i-Ala (later Nawab Muhammad Ali) was in the court of Asafjah Nizamul-mulk at Hyderabad, his second son Mahfuz Khan was with the Nawab helping him in the administration of the Carnatic¹⁰. Mahfuz was even referred to as the Deputy Nawab¹¹. The rather pompous style adopted by him in his seal—*Muhammad Shah, Muhammad Mahfuz Khan Badshah-i-Ghazi*—is another indication of his exalted position in the Government. His power and prestige were in fact so high that Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman of Pudukkottai (1730-69), whose territory Chanda Saheb's soldiery had previously plundered, sought his protection as a guarantee against future raids from outsiders.

Mahfuz's defeat by the French near Madras in what is known as the battle of the Adyar (September 1746) dealt a serious blow to his prestige. He was, however, invested with the administration of Tiruchirapalli, but during his brief absence on a punitive expedition to Madurai, the fort of

4. Now included in the Municipality of Tiruchirapalli.

5. Erumbesvaram or Tiruverumbur, a village five miles to the East of Tiruchirapalli.

6. Konadu was an administrative division from Chola times and comprised the western part of the present Tiruchirapalli district and the Pudukkottai territory.

7. Name given to Tiruchirapalli by Muhammad Ali Walajah, after Hazrat Natthar Wali, whose *dargah* is still a prominent land mark in the city.

8. Adopted from a literal translation made by the late Maulvi Sayyid Murtaza Saheb Bahadur of Tiruchirapalli.

9. For other instances of Walajahi benefactions to non-Muslim institutions, see the present writer's paper "*The Religious Policy of the Walajahi Nawabs*" read at the Eleventh All India Oriental Conference and published in the *quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.

10. Cf. Srinivasachariar, C. S. : *Vignettes from the History of the Walajahi Dynasty of the Carnatic* (Published by the Osmania University) p. 8.

11. Cf. Letter dated 5th September 1744 from the Fort St. George Council to the Company. Also Srinivasachariar, C. S. Op. Cit. p. 12.

Tiruchirapalli was the scene of an armed scuffle between his *naib* Muniruddin Khan and Anwar Ali, a relation of the Nawab, which brought the old Nawab himself to the scene. Hazrat-i-Ala was then given charge of the *Subah* and dependencies of Tiruchirapalli,¹² and on the death of his father in 1749, was confirmed in the Nawabship of the Carnatic. It was as Nawab that he issued the second *parwana* confirming the previous grant of his brother Mahfuz.

The subsequent history of these grants is briefly told. When the Carnatic was taken over by the East India Company, the cash allowances to the temple were stopped, and an Inam Commissioner (W. Blair) granted the trustee of the temple two title deeds¹³ confirming his enjoyment of the lands in Tennur and Erumbesvaram (Tirüverumbur).

12. Burhan. *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* translated by S. M. H. Nainar (published by the Madras University) Part I. pp. 128-9. Also Srinivasachariar Op. Cit. p. 19.

13. 1864 and 1865.

A SANNYASI AGITATOR FROM LUCKNOW AMONG THE SANTALS OF HAZARIBAGH

By Nandalal Chatterji

AMONG the District Records of Lucknow there is a bundle of records relating to a daring sannyasi agitator from Lucknow, who was responsible for considerable political unrest among the Santals of Hazaribagh District of Bihar in the post-Mutiny period.

Unfortunately, the documents do not throw sufficient light on the career and activities of the sannyasi. But, from the scrappy information that is available, it is clear that the said sannyasi was a masterful figure endowed with remarkable talents and qualities of leadership. He was named Dubia Gosain. He was a resident of Oudh and he became a wandering mendicant from his boyhood. It is interesting to note that he migrated to Bihar and took up his residence among the Santals of the Hazaribagh District in Thana Ramghur. There he soon acquired a strange influence over the primitive people. How he became a political leader is a mystery which is not clear from the official papers. That he was a successful demagogue is apparent from the fact that the Government of Bengal took cognisance of his activities and ultimately deported him from the province as a punitive measure.

In their letter of the 8th January, 1881 (No. 87 J-Political Department) the Bengal Government described the activities of the man for the information of the Government of N. W. Provinces as follows :— “ The man is said to be a saint, possessing miraculous powers, and he undoubtedly exercises great influence over the Sonthals ”. The authorities in Bengal were convinced of the fact that Dubia Gosain was secretly stirring up the Santals against the Government although direct evidence was not forthcoming.

The papers show that Dubia Gosain started as a religious preacher and went about giving strange sermons. He taught the Santals, for example, to kill all fowls, pigs and white goats in the land and stop ploughing on Sundays. When these curious teachings created sufficient excitement among the Santals of Hazaribagh, the Gosain, it is alleged, began impressing upon the primitive people that they would be sent by the Government to Afghanistan and that their women would be sent away to Assam. In consequence, there was a grave unrest in the District and the Government's attention was drawn to it.

At first, it was decided to prosecute the Sannyasi under Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code but the idea of prosecution was later dropped on the ground that it would be impolitic to make the Gosain a martyr in the eyes of the Santals. In the end, he was arrested and deported to Lucknow in 1881 and his property was sold out. The Bengal Government justified their action on the ground that the Gosain “ exercised a most mischievous and unsettling influence among the uneducated and semi-savage tribes ”.

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The Gosain was kept under surveillance at Lucknow where his movements were regularly watched by the Police (No. 236....Political Dept. Letter from Commissioner of Lucknow Division, 24th January 1881). The documents show that fortnightly and after sometime half-yearly reports about this man were sent from Lucknow to the Bengal Government. (Letter of 2nd Feb. 1881 from Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow etc. etc.).

The Gosain tried his best to return to the Santal Parganas, but permission was refused by the Bengal Government (No. R T 29 J. 1881). He was repeatedly warned that if ever he tried to go back, he would make himself liable to arrest and prosecution. The Bengal Government wrote, "....considering the excitable disposition of the Sonthals and the effect which Dubia's presence had upon them, Sir Ashley Eden considers it extremely undesirable that he should be permitted to return to Hazaribagh " (G. O. 363 of 1881).

RELATIONS BETWEEN MADHAV RAO AND JANOJI BHONSLE

By V.S. Chitale

THE relations between the Peshwas and the Bhonsles of Nagpur had been highly strained ever since the assumption of the Peshwaship by Balaji Baji Rao; and although Chhatrapati Shahu had effected a compromise between the latter and Raghuji, the Bhonsles and the Peshwas could not see eye to eye with each other. There were of course no signs of any open hostility between them during Raghuji's life time. But a change came with the accession of Janoji his son and successor who not having inherited his father's shrewdness could never be on good terms with Peshwa Madhav Rao. After 1761 he openly joined the Nizam and is alleged¹ to have advised him to plunder and burn Poona, the capital of the Peshwas. Raghunath Rao, uncle of Madhav Rao, sharply rebuked² Janoji for joining the Nizam, an action which in his opinion had undermined the honour and prestige of the Maratha Empire. Though the Peshwa won a victory at the battle of Rakshashbhuvan which was fought by him against the Nizam, he had to pay a very heavy price for it. He had to cede to Janoji a territory yielding an annual income of about thirty-two lakhs of rupees and make several other concessions,³ as the price of the latter's desertion of the Nizam. After the treaty was signed "Madhav Rao openly reproached him for his duplicity to both the parties and vehemently condemned the unprincipled and unworthy motive by which he had been drawn in to become a tool for the subversion of a Government⁴". This sharp rebuke, it seems, cut Janoji to the heart making him henceforth even less willing to offer military help to the Peshwa than to court the friendship of his enemies⁵. That this was his real attitude became evident when the Peshwa commenced hostilities with Haidar Ali in 1764.

It was in the beginning of 1764 that Madhav Rao marched against Haidar⁶ and naturally expected Janoji to rally under his banner with his forces. As a member of the Maratha Confederacy Janoji was in duty bound to accept some time ago the invitation of the Peshwa. He had also concluded a treaty with Madhav Rao under which he was obliged to help him against Haidar Ali. He had his mental reservation, however, and on one pretext or another refused to carry out the Peshwa's command. In February 1764, he wrote to Gangoba Tatya Chandrachud that he was unable to join the Peshwa's forces as the conditions in Bengal had become critical and that his presence in Nagpur was absolutely neces-

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¹Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, 20, 168.

²S. P. D., 20, 139.

³Selections from the Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries, Madhav Rao's Diary, Part I, pp. 130-32; Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekha Sanghrahā*, 318; *Aitihāsik Patravayavhar*, 102; and S. P. D., 20, 141.

⁴Duff, *History of the Maharattas*, Vol. II, P. 176.

⁵S. P. D., 38, 151; See also the original documents published in this paper. These were secured by me through the courtesy of Shri K. K. Parasnis of Poona, who possesses a large number of Modi documents of historical importance, his ancestors being the Parasnavis of the Peshwas in the 18th century.

⁶S. P. D., 20, 147 and 150.

sary⁷. He further added that he had already instructed Ranoji Karande⁸ and Visaji Raghunath,⁹ who were collecting *ghasa-dana* in the province of Ganga-thadi, to march towards the Karnatak should the Peshwa so desire.

A letter dated 2nd April 1764 written by Vyankat Rao Moreshwar, Peshwa's Agent with Janoji (published here for the first time)¹⁰ reveals Janoji's activities during this period and throws fresh light on the doings of the Nizam, Haidar Ali and the deposed Nawab of Bengal. Vyankat Rao wrote as follows : " When I reached Paithan, the Nizam left for Hyderabad and Ganesh Tukdeo and myself made our way towards Nagpur. The Sena-Saheb-Subah wrote to Ganesh Pant that his people had taken recourse to sitting dharna and fasting and he could not in the circumstances leave his station ; that the Peshwa should, therefore, kindly excuse his absence in the Karnatak that year and that he would amply make up for it in the following year. If, however, the Peshwa needed any military aid he should immediately write to Ranoji Karande and Nanaji Krishna¹² who were posted in the Panch Mahals and whom Janoji had instructed to join the Peshwa if the latter should ask them to do so. This has been corroborated by both the Sardars. In these circumstances, it is quite clear that the Sena-Saheb-Subah is not leaving the province. When Janoji and Devaji Pant would confer with their people it would be known which course the former was going to take. But I am sure that Janoji-baba is quite loyal to the Peshwa. What is he going to gain by forsaking the cause of the master ? It is said that Rango Ganesh (Janoji's Vakil at Hyderabad) has reported that the Peshwa has concluded through Murad Khan a treaty with the Nizam by offering him a *saranjam* of ten lakhs of rupees. Previous to this, the Agents of Haidar Ali had interviewed the Nizam. It is reported now that Haidar Ali approached the Nizam through the agency of Ram Chandra Rao Jadhav, and requested him to confer on him (Haidar Ali) the title of Nawab for which he was ready to pay the (Nizam) a *nazr* of six lakhs of rupees. Haidar's request was granted by the Nizam on receipt of the *nazr*. Haidar, who is now fighting with the Peshwa, has suggested that if an honourable treaty is not concluded and the fighting continues the Nizam should make common cause with him and pounce upon the Peshwa from the north, whercon Haidar Ali would advance from the south. In the circumstances, the Peshwa's position would be precarious, as the river Tungabhadra is in flood. It is also reported that Jafar Ali Khan¹³ has written to Janoji that his capital has been captured by the Farangis (the English), that he has fled to Banaras and that should Janoji care for the recovery of the *chaukh* for the last eight years, he should immediately join him with his troops against the Farangis, after which they would administer the province together. I learn that Shivbhat Sathe has sent two lakhs of rupees from Cuttack. I have not yet had any audience with Janoji-baba and shall communicate the details after seeing him."

⁷Chandrachud Daftar, Vol. I, 88.

⁸He was nephew of Raghuji Karande who was one of the Sardars of Janoji.

⁹He was a Captain in the service of Janoji.

¹⁰This document, being unpublished, a free translation in English is given here. The details narrated herein corroborate the information given in letter No. 88 from the Chandrachud Daftar. Some of the facts given here are however entirely new.

¹¹He was a trusted Vakil of Janoji and was often sent by him to negotiate with the Peshwa and Nizam. He is also mentioned as Ganesh Pant and Ganesh Dada.

¹²He belonged to the family of Babuji Naik Baramatikar and was the Karbhari of Raghoji Karande. At the time of fights between Mudhoji and Janoji, Naoji Krishna often changed side and was killed while in action by Mudhoji in 1175. Naoji is also known as Narayan Krishna Joshi.

¹³Probably a mistake for Qasim Ali Khan, who has recently been dispossessed by the English in Bengal. Jafar Ali Khan, who was in friendly alliance with the English at the time, could not certainly have made an overture of the kind to Janoji.

The importance of the document lies in the new information it furnishes on (1) the critical position of the Peshwa who, anxious as he was to obtain a speedy victory in his Mysore campaign, was confronted by fresh problems created by the Nizam's new diplomatic moves; (2) the tactics adopted by Haidar Ali to win the Nizam; (3) the position of advantage acquired by the Nizam in the Karnatak affairs and (4) the delicate situation in which Janoji Bhonsle found himself.

Janoji could not make up his mind to join the Maratha forces and no reply was sent by him either to the Peshwa or his uncle about the help sought from him. So Raghunath Rao wrote to him from Nasik for help before leaving for the Karnatak. Janoji repeated his old excuses about the bad state of affairs in Bengal although showing outwardly his keen desire to stand by the Maratha cause.¹⁴ Yet on other occasions he pleaded as excuses his financial difficulties and an eye-sore which was giving him trouble.¹⁵ Not that he failed to anticipate the grave consequences of such a policy of vacillation, but to forestall them he started negotiations with the Nizam, Haidar Ali and the deposed Nawab of Bengal.¹⁶ This would be borne out by the following *unpublished* document. In a news-letter written probably on 31 March, 1765,¹⁷ Vyankat Rao Moreshwar writes, "Shrimant Dada Saheb has written to the Sena-Saheb-Subah as follows: 'While on our way to the Karnatak we waited for you for a long time. For one full month we marched slowly till we reached the banks of the Krishna, but seeing that you are not coming, we quickened our speed and reached the Peshwa's camp. Even if you have failed to join us so far, hasten your march with redoubled speed; that alone would help us to bring the war to a speedy conclusion and would certainly put you and the Peshwa in an advantageous position. So come up quickly. The war with Haidar Naik would come to a finish very soon.' When this letter was received (adds Vyankat Rao) meetings were held at the place of Piraji Naik Nimbalkar, but so far nothing has been finally decided". The same news-letter reports Janoji as saying: "Once the people know that I am leaving for the Karnatak with a large force, all the soldiers would leave the army and only a small force of five thousand would remain, and then all would be chaos in Nagpur". "At one moment", the letter continues, "he feels like marching out, but at others he thinks in a contrary way." Again he would ask sometime, "But why has not the Peshwa written to me as Shrimant Dada Saheb had done?" Hence no decision has, as yet, been taken. I hope that Janoji-baba would ultimately decide to go. I pray to God that he would go and thus falsify all conjectures (to the contrary). At present he is thinking of marching towards Kada. On March 28(?), 1765 news was received that the Nawab had gone over to the side of Haidar Naik and that he (the Nawab) had written to Janoji that he had departed with full confidence in him, that he should not join the Peshwa's forces and should spend a few days in the province of Ganga-thadi. The Bhonsle has already written to the Nizam saying: "The present crisis is similar to the one which was precipitated by the Peshwa on the banks of the Ganga (a few years ago). The Peshwa's stay in the Karnatak camp for two successive years has immensely weakened his power and has sapped the strength of his army. The Peshwa is now in a precarious position; and as both of you (Nizam and Haidar Ali) have joined hands and as the Pathans are also with us, the day should prove advantageous for us". The letter concludes with the following remarks: "How the master is going to tackle the situa-

¹⁴S. P. D., 20, 150, 151, 152.

¹⁵S. P. D., 20, 133, 154.

¹⁶S. P. D., 38, 151.

¹⁷The writer of this letter does not give the exact date of the despatch of the letter, but mentions two dates which help to fix it. The contents show that it was despatched between 26th March and 2nd April, 1765.

tion one does not know. The turn of events seems to bear a close analogy to that which compelled the Peshwa to cede (to the Nizam) a territory yielding a revenue of sixty lakhs of rupees ¹⁸ and enabled (Dadasaheb) further to worsen matters by his missives."

Another important document, (the first folio of which is unfortunately missing), written by an agent of the Peshwa at Nagpur in March 1765 reports Janoji as saying: "Let the Peshwa break off his relations with the Nizam and then watch the *tamasha*. If the Peshwa writes to me as Shrimant Dada Saheb has done I shall get (at least) mental satisfaction."

Continuing the author of the letter observes: "I suspect that at present Janoji-baba is thinking of something else, possibly he is thinking of acting as he did last year¹⁹. Yet I cannot finally make out which way the wind is blowing. (When I met him) I argued with him thus: The letter written by Shrimant Dada Saheb is as good as a letter from the Peshwa himself; for both of them are one and their policies are one. You should have, therefore, joined the Peshwa's forces in the Karnatak instead of standing on formalities in this way. Again, I do not understand why you are rendering his position more difficult (not only by your stay at Nagpur but also by your overtures to his enemies). The Shrimant is bound to succeed in the Karnatak in any case (even without your help), but he would certainly remember your words and actions". At these words of mine Janoji was very angry. When the Karnatak war is over, you should immediately march towards Nagpur. If you do not do so the kingdom would be in danger; for I think Janoji's intentions are far from satisfactory. I am simply supplying you with the news I have gathered here."

These documents throw a flood of light on the true designs of Janoji and we have reasons to believe that Janoji was not at all keen on leaving his station and joining the Peshwa in the Karnatak. Instead, we find his offering lame excuses. His eye trouble could only be a temporary excuse, and that an experienced soldier of Janoji's standing should have adduced to it is rather strange. How unjustified were also his grievances based on supposed breach of formalities on the part of the Peshwa will be clear from the fact that not only Raghunath Rao but even the Peshwa²⁰ himself had asked him to join the campaign personally. He had financial difficulties no doubt, but no contemporary Maratha sardar was free from them. Even the Peshwa himself was not in a sound financial position. The excuse of monetary difficulties would thus hardly explain the hesitancy shown by Janoji. The alleged crisis in Bengal, moreover, could not be a reasonable ground for his remaining in Nagpur. The English were now the complete master of the affairs in Bengal and their authority had been firmly established in that province. Under the circumstances any effort on the part of Janoji to oust them even if he were supported by the forces of the deposed Nawab was foredoomed to failure. It is true that the English at this date stood greatly in awe of the Maratha power in Poona and were not in a position to give the latter any provocation to attack them. But this certainly does not mean that Janoji would have become successful had he simply crossed the border and entered Bengal. That a man who had been unable to collect *chauth* in Bengal for past eight years should think of collecting them at this juncture with the help of a defeated soldier like the Nawab of Bengal is

¹⁸Refers to the position at the time of the treaty between the Peshwa and the Nizam in 1762.

¹⁹i.e. 1763, when Janoji joined the Nizam against the Peshwa.

²⁰S. P. D., 120, 147, 150.

something which passes our comprehension. What Janoji really wanted was to gain time and to make his position strong by alliances with the Nizam and Haidar Ali, so that he might face the Peshwa in equal terms. He was convinced that on the termination of the Karnatak Campaign the latter would march on him for his default. The later events show that Janoji's fears were not unfounded.

After concluding a treaty with Haidar Ali on 12th March,²¹ 1765, the Peshwa reached Poona on 8th June, 1765²². He was annoyed to find that, instead of joining the campaign in the Karnatak, Janoji had been in intrigue with the Nizam and Haidar Ali. He had reasons also to suspect that Janoji was trying to help his uncle Raghunath Rao in his ambitious designs.²³ All these led the Peshwa to decide that Janoji should be punished and he should be taught such a lesson as he would never forget in his life-time. So he started preparations for marching into the territory of Janoji. As a preliminary measure he formed an alliance with the Nizam agreeing to cede to him a territory yielding a revenue of 32 lakhs of rupees per year—the same territory that had been given to Janoji after the battle of Rakshasbhuvan.²⁴ When the news reached Janoji he was taken aback. In a letter (which is unpublished) dated about 6th June, 1765, Vyankat Rao Moreswar writes, "The Peshwa's letters were received here on June, 6, in which the Peshwa is reported to have communicated that he had discussed everything with Babu Rao Rayaji, who has apprised Janoji of the intention of the Peshwa. Babu Rao Rayaji, it is reported, has written to Janoji: "The Peshwa desires you to meet him personally with only 500 to 1000 soldiers and that after deliberations with you a plan of action would be fixed and then only he would decide whether he should bring his full contingents on the field or not. Should you fail to meet him he would immediately despatch his artillery to Berar and follow it himself with his full army. Come what may the Peshwa seems to be determined to give you a desperate battle. If you are prepared to see him with one thousand soldiers you should do so. If not, it would be better part of valour for you to take every possible precaution (to protect your country) and to guard your forts". "Janoji-baba", adds Vyankat Rao Moreswar, "has not as yet lost his usual composure but his advisers, it is reported, bluster forth with all possible threat and keep saying if the Peshwa's forces enter Berar every one in his army will be killed by whatever means possible. Please arrange to send envoys to Madho Sing so that the agents sent by Janoji would be cast into prison by him (Madho Sing). The news that the Peshwa is going to advance towards Nagpur is causing much stir amongst the people here who have begun to run away from their homes".

Babu Rao Rayaji had also informed Janoji that the Peshwa intended treachery²⁵. "If you meet him as desired by him please rest assured that he would resort to treachery. So take every possible precaution before you see him personally. Otherwise do not see him at all. The fact that you have an army of thirty thousand has put him into dismay. So please do not meet him. If you have already crossed the Ganga (Godavari)

²¹*S. P. D.*, 37,60, 61.

²²Chandrachud Daftar, I, 96.

²³Cf. Grant Duff's statement "The Peishwa was sensible that Rugonath Rao could at this period obtain the aid either of Nizam Ally or of Janojee Bhonslay", Vol. II, p. 182.

²⁴*S. P. D.*, 20; 159, 168.

²⁵*Pethe Daftar*, Vol. I, 35.

retrace your steps and strengthen your forces.”²⁶ This advise was literally followed by Janoji who sent his brother Mudhoji²⁷ to Chennur in order to make it invulnerable. He kept his plans ready and made every possible effort to check the advance of the Peshwa and to offer him a severe battle without caring for the consequences.²⁸

On 27th September, 1765, one Balaram, an agent of the Peshwa, writes in an *unpublished* letter, “The news that the Shrimant is advancing against Nagpur has created havoc in the whole province (of Nagpur). Janoji is still trying to persuade the Nizam to join him (against the Peshwa). Mahadji Sindhia’s Vakiel and messengers have also arrived in Nagpur. Janoji-baba has written to Mahadji that both of them should join hands and with one mind and policy should advance against the Peshwa to defeat him.”

The agents of the Peshwa were not unaware of the all-out effort Janoji was making. In fact every bit of information on the preparations made by Janoji was communicated by them to the Peshwa. He was informed how discontent was rife among Janoji’s own men, and how Janoji was looking forward to the conclusion of an alliance with the Nizam every day and to the arrival of help from Madho Sing.²⁹ The Peshwa was advised by these agents to write friendly letters to Madho Sing, Burhan Shah of Devgad (Nagpur), Misir Jeevanram, as well as to win over Raghoji Karande and Ramaji Ballal Gune to his side.³⁰ A note of warning was also sounded by them against the mischievous conduct of Devaji Pant Chorghode who was reported to have remarked that as long as Raghunath Rao was in the province of Nagpur it would be his policy to keep friendly relations with him, but once he has left the province all the places should be recaptured and the whole province reconquered.³¹ Finally the Peshwa was advised to march against Janoji immediately, to defeat him and crush his power for good so that he might never try to raise his head again.³²

It is beyond the scope of the present paper to describe in detail how the Peshwa marched against Janoji, first in 1765 and again in 1768, and inflicted on him a crushing defeat on each occasion, thereby shattering his power to pieces once for all. He was so much cowed down by these defeats that after the treaty of Kanakapur in 1769, he remained loyal to the Peshwa for the rest of his life. Once or twice, Haidar Ali tried to enlist his help against the Peshwa but his loyalty was not to be shaken, “The Peshwa’s enemy is my enemy”, he wrote, “My only prayer is that the love that has subsisted between us should be on the increase every day.”³³

²⁶*Pethe Daftar*, Vol. I, 35.

²⁷*Pethe Daftar*, Vol. I, 37.

²⁸*Pethe Daftar*, Vol. I, 35.

²⁹*Pethe Daftar*, Vol. I, 40.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.*

³³*E. P. D.* 20, 292.

A CONTEMPORARY MUTINY ACCOUNT : MEMORIAL OF AN INDIGO PLANTER

By K. K. Datta

In the transcripts of records which I secured a few years back from the National Archives, New Delhi, for the preparation of a thesis on the Bihar phase of the Indian movement of 1857-59, I got the following account in the memorial¹ submitted to the Governor-General and Viceroy of India in Council by Alexander Martin, an Indigo planter in the district of Azimgurh (Azamgarh). On the 3rd June, 1857, the Sepoys of the 17th Regiment at Azimgurh² under the command of Major Burroughs revolted, whereupon the European residents of this place fled to Ghazipur.³ Azamgarh continued to be a centre of the movement for several months more. Kunwar Singh, the brave leader of the movement in Bihar, made a diversion in eastern Oudh in March-April, 1858. He joined a party of his comrades at Atraulia (25 miles distant from Azamgarh) on the 17th March. A body of British troops under Colonel Milman attacked him there within a few days but were themselves defeated and retreated to Azamgarh.⁴ Azamgarh was relieved by Lord Mark Kerr, whom Lord Canning had deputed specially for this. But Kunwar Singh continued fighting against the British troops under Brigadier Douglas (April 17—April 21).

The Indigo planters naturally supported and helped the Company's government. In the document quoted below we read of Alexander Martin, an Indigo planter in the district of Azamgarh, praying for the grant of two confiscated taluqs of Shamsabad and Khorason in that district in recognition of his services to the government of the Company, particularly his work as an engineer in "fortifying the Azimgurh Kutcherry" on the eve of the Mutiny there and for construction of the Azamgarh fort. He claims preference to the Indian zamindars, whom he deprecates in strong terms and holds out an assurance to pay increased revenue after a period of ten years by effecting various improvements.

This document also contains names of officers in command of the troops of the Company's government, during the investment of Azamgarh by Kunwar Singh and some new and interesting details regarding the latter.

Political Cons (Supply) 30 December 1859 nos. 590-97.

To

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Charles

John Viscount Canning

Governor General and Viceroy of India in Council.

Dr. K.K. Datta is Professor and Head of the Department of History, Patna College and an Associate Member of the Commission on behalf of the Government of Bihar. He is the Convenor of the Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee set up by the Indian Historical Records Commission. He has several historical works of outstanding merit to his credit.

¹ Political Consultations, 30 December, 1859, Nos. 590—97.

² Head-quarters of the Azamgarh District of the Benares divisions in the Lieutenant Governorship of the North western Provinces.,

³ Kaye, Sir John, *A History of the Sepoy War*, Vol. II, Pp. 213—216.

⁴ Malleson, Colonel, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. IV Pp. 318—320.

The Memorial of Alexander Martin Indigo Planter in the District of Azimgurh Respectfully sheweth.

That your Memorialist solicits a perusal of these pages, in as much as he has a conviction, from the tenor of the reply received from Government, through the Commissioner 5th Division to his first application submitted through the Collector of Azimgurh to Government for a grant of the Two confiscated Talookas of Shumshabad and Khurasoon in the Azimgurh District that Memorialists claim for services rendered in a Military capacity and as a Military Engineer has not been fully detailed to shew the good effects proceeding from them ; in order to enable the Government to arrive at a fair estimate of their value to the state at the most critical period, commencing from the time when the cartridge question was agitated by the Troops 17th Regt. B.N.I. and detail of Artillery with 2 guns under Lieutenant Parish. Your Memorialist begs to lay this memorial in a narrative form before your Lordship and prays for a review of his case in finally deciding the measure of the reward due to him. Memorialist in his first application through Mr. Davies the Collector and Magistrate did not file the whole of his certificates, he now does so, soliciting a perusal.

2nd. Memorialist respectfully desires to bring to your Lordship's notice that from the very first, he volunteered his services to the Government and their value to the state is fully acknowledged in the letters (herewith filed in original) from the Authorities, and at all times Memorialist has cheerfully done his part as a good subject by making himself useful for the benefit of the public works as an Engineer. The many extensive works executed by him are convincing evidence of his ability, and of his readiness to serve the Government and, shew he is not deficient in qualification and experience of a nature, that only requires the opportunity to expand itself for the benefit of his adopted country. Moving in a limited sphere of life, it has been his constant endeavour to do his part in such a manner as to earn the good opinion of his superiors. But in the isolated position the Memorialist has passed his days, it has not been possible for him to effect the good he could do for want of means and a position, and should he be so fortunate as to be successful in this his only chance of preferment, he in all humbleness of mind feels assured that the honor conferred on, and the trust confined in him will not be misplaced.

3rd. Memorialist has a perfect knowledge of the country the habits and customs of the people and their institutions, he can read and write the Oordoo sufficiently well for all practical purposes ; of the system of village management Memorialist has much experience. Mr. Davies Magistrate and Collector of Azimgurh in his letter to the Commissioner No. 158 of the present year has done Memorialist the honour to bear emphatic testimony in Memorialist's behalf in the following extract. "It is not every European to whom the management of large estates can be wisely confided, but in this respect Mr. Martin may be safely recommended. He speaks the language perfectly, has had experience as a Planter, is possessed of resources as a Civil Engineer, and is likely to deal with his tenants fairly and considerably."

4th. In the Government despatch it is decided your Memorialist has earned a good claim to a reward, but that it is a question of a little time, before the award is made ; remarking that Memorialists' application is of too high a value. Memorialist would here solicit a reconsideration of the subject in all its bearings, for with a smaller income than these estates are reputed

to yield, Memorialist would be unable to do any thing in the way of improving the estates or the condition of the Royots. It being a fact that needs no elucidation that native Landlords as a general rule never lay out a farthing on their estates in the view of improving them, or encouraging the spread of scientific knowledge amongst their own class or brotherhood, or of being the means of enabling their Ryots to improve the capabilities of their holdings ; and thus save them from the grasp of the village Mahajun. A large field is open to the intelligent and public spirited European Landlord, the productiveness of the soil is abundant if properly developed by Irrigation, an improved method of manuring, the introduction of a better description of cattle for the plough, and alternation of crops etc. the want of these principal features in husbandry is notorious ; and none but a European Landlord who has abilities and energy to guide him could introduce these beneficial changes.

5th. Memorialist as an Indigo Planter has minutely studied the practice of Agriculture during the past 7 years, and has found by practical experience that an incredible amount of ignorance prevails amongst the Zemindars, and peasantry in the most ordinary method of cultivating land to the best advantage. Nothing so interests them as the condition of their lands and crops, but they are powerless to effect any change although of such vital importance to them ; their landlords aiding in no way, they are thus thrown into the native Mahajans hands who never do business under 50 per cent., and not unfrequently much more ; hence the condition of the tenant is in a great measure at its lowest with no prospect of regeneration. Memorialist relies on the known enlightened views entertained by your Lordship on the requirements of India, that your Memorialist's prayer will meet with a fair hearing, and his endeavours to do the good, he would be enabled to perform encouraged by a favourable decision.

6th. Your Memorialist respectfully represent for your Lordship's consideration that by the bestowal on him of the Two Talookas asked for, his sphere of usefulness and social position would only be established in a decent mediocrity leaving barely 5,000 rupees a year clear to lay out on the improvements Memorialist would undoubtedly inaugurate. There being about 24 or 25 villages constituting the Talookas Rs. 200 a year would only be available for each, in sinking new wells, forming new Bunds and Tanks and in deepening the old ones. The Government Revenue or demand is about Rs. 8,000 a year. The rent Roll nominally about Rs. 19,000 which Memorialist doubts the estates in their present neglected state pay easily. These estates are at present under Memorialist's management and with every exertion during the past year he could only realise about Rs. 14,000, nor do the Collections of the present year promise more favourably. The cost of collection and other village expenditure to the landlord would not be under Rs. 2,000 annually. Assuming that the rent roll is Rs. 19,000 after deducting the above outlay leaves Rs. 4,000 a year or nearly 334 Rs. a month for the landlord as his share for personal expenses. Each village in these estates would require from 2 to 4 new wells to give a moderate supply of water for irrigation, beyond that obtainable from the present available supply, before there could be any reasonable hopes of an increase in the collections, or to receive the present dues without pressure on the tenants.

7th. To effect these improvements a period of 10 years would be taken up, then no doubt a decided increase might be counted upon. Memorialist would steadily lay out the above mentioned proportion *viz.* Rs. 5,000 a year on works of Irrigation and other improvements, and devote the whole of his

energies to develop the resources of the trust confided to him (for memorialist is of opinion that property has its duties as well as rights) and he feels confident that a few years would prove the difference between a Zemindaree conducted by a European and that of any by a native Talookdar.

8th. Your Memorialist respectfully solicits your Lordship's attention to the following facts connected with his services before and after the breaking out of the mutiny.

9th. At the desire of the Civil Authorities, your Memorialist rendered, as is acknowledged by Mr. Simson Joint Magistrate in his certificate "Invaluable aid in fortifying the Azimgurh Kutchary" a few days before the outbreak. The Troops mutinying suddenly on the evening of the 3rd of June 57 by killing one officer and wounding the Quarter Master Serjt, the Civil and Military Officers with their families were compelled to fly for their lives. Of these events your Memorialist knew nothing, until the morning of the 4th of June, 1857 when all the villagers rose up as one man, plundering not only the European planter but each other. All roads were closed and communication with the city stopped and impossible by any means whatsoever for the first two days. On the 6th of June your Memorialist determined on attempting a passage to the City with his family at imminent risk, and he was the first to enter the city alone of his own accord (of course escorted by some loyal Zemindars, whose names Memorialist has given to the Magistrate in hopes that their loyalty would be rewarded). At this time it was in agitation within the city to raise a Rajah to the command of the District, this was told by zemindars to Memorialist, who are returning from the city consultation. Memorialist easily foresaw the mischief that would ensue if such an event took place, and on arrival in the city took measures to allay the ferment agitating the native mind on the mutiny of the troops and intrigues of the disaffected towards the Government. As Memorialist was well known amongst most of the influential men of the city, he sought these persons, and explained the power of the British Nation and made them to understand that speedy relief would arrive by troops ordered to Calcutta in place of proceeding to China, and all opposition be borne down. Memorialist's arguments were listened to with attention, and seconded by the tact and devotion of several of the native officials produced a revulsion (revulsion) of feeling in our favour. Azimgurh was thus kept from breaking out into any open hostility to the Government. Mr. Philip Niblett also assisted in reassuring the native mind. Memorialist respectfully submits, that to his opportune arrival in Azimgurh and his stay for 12 days amongst an excited population at a most critical moment may in some degree be attributed the peace and safety of the city.

10th. Memorialist would with due submission observe that he has seen a notice of the reward given to Mr. Boyle District Engineer on the Railway for fortifying his house at Arrah and defending it along with others who took refuge in it from the fury of the Dinapoor mutineers and rebel villages. Memorialist would not for an instant detract any thing from the honour due to Mr. Boyle for his high courage and ability in the Arrah affair, but in justice to himself Memorialist humbly asks permission to be allowed to contrast the extent and importance of the works executed (and continued series of services rendered) by your Memorialist in comparison with the Arrah fortification. The one was a place of refuge for 60 men, the Azimgurh Fort proved a place of security for hundreds. The Madras Cavalry under Colonel Cumberledge about 400 men and horses European Infantry 37th Regiment about 280 men and Madras Rifles about 120, Colonel Lord

Mark Kerr with his detachment of Infantry and wounded found shelter therein together with many carts with stores, and Government cattle for the guns under Lieutenant Welsh. Mr. Boyle's active services continued for about a month, and they were deemed worthy of a jageer of Rs. 10,000 a year, while your Memorialist's services extending over a period of several months without any kind of remuneration are considered by one single authority as meriting a reward of a Jageer of Three or Four thousand Rupees a year only; whereas by Mr. Davies the Magistrate, whose judgement must have been confirmed by the united opinion of the Civil and Military Officers present during the siege, and who was himself present, and was a constant eye witness of Memorialist's exertions, and could thus form a just estimate of their value, has strongly recommended your Memorialist for a reward commensurate with the value of the services rendered.

11th. To Captain G. M. Boileau on the first instance is the honour due for deciding that a Fort should be built. It was planned and constructed by Memorialist as testified to by Mr. W. Wynyard Sessions Judge of Azimgurh, as also to Memorialist's Military services in commanding and working the Barbette Battery against the enemy's guns, in the following extracts from his Report to Government dated 13th July, 1858. "To Mr. Martin we are indebted in a great measure for the design and construction of the Azimgurh Fort in September, 1857, he was present throughout the siege and during the sally on the 28th March, and on many other occasions worked and laid the 6 lb. gun against the enemy's battery and in covering the retirement of the sallying parties. Mr. Martin who volunteered his services as Garrison Engineer was constantly exposed to the Enemy's fire during the seige. He was also employed in reconnoitering under fire. He has been favourably noticed by Colonel Dames commanding at Azimgurh to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army dated 28th March, 1858 for his activity, courage, and knowledge of defensive operations. Colonel Milman also in his despatch of the 27th March to Colonel Dames, commanding at Azimgurh praises him for his exertions on all occasions. This fort has been of vast political importance from its geographical position, and was the cause not only of keeping the Azimgurh District itself from being in a constant state of anarchy but blocked the advance of Koer Singh's Rebel army in March and April 1858 into the Bunarus and Ghazeepore Districts.

12th. Before Koer Singh entered the district Memorialist foresaw the probability of the Fort being attached, he therefore of his own accord arranged to have ready 2,000 sand bags, and when the Rebel sepoys took possession of the city, these sand bags, (humanly speaking) were the means of saving many valuable lives, as the garrison was fired upon from houses only 100 yards from the parapets; when these sand bags were expanded opposite the most exposed position, the value of this description of defence was appreciated and a further supply ordered, and procured with the utmost difficulty. For 22 days the rebel army was engaged in devising plans for capturing the Fort, and plundering the treasure about six lacks, with other valuable Military and Commissariat store.

13th. In addition Memorialist may be pardoned in saying that to the existence of the Azimgurh Fort the safety of the rich commercial city of Gazeepore was due, for assuredly had there not been such a place of strength to retire into Colonel Milman with his very inadequate force would have had to retire on to Bunarus or Gazeepore; and it is questionable if the Collector would have been able to collect carriage for the Treasure and other valuable property of Government. The rebel army would have been free to

do much damage not only to private and public property but infinite mischief in disorganizing whole districts and Tribes.

14th. A few days after the expulsion of the Rebels by General Lugard, that officer did memorialist the honour of desiring his attendance in camp to consult as to the best means of securing shelter for the Troops and an hospital for the wounded. Thus again was your Memorialist the humble means of making himself useful to the state and at that officer's request immediately set to work under Captain Dawson (whose memorandum of works and letter of thanks are likewise filed) in roofing the available houses and in building a magazine for powder. A large hospital, originally the Collectors Kutcherry and 2 large houses, originally occupied by Civil Officers were completed with such despatch as to be ready by the time the greatest heat prevailed. In proof of this Memorialist begs to refer to Colonel Kelly, C. B. Major J. Maxwell and Lieutenant and Adjutant R. Leeson of H.M. 34 Regiment. In June last Memorialist offered his services to Major Thring Royal Artillery, which were accepted in surveying the Town and Military position of Azimghurh.

15th. Your Memorialist in proof of this (these) assertions also begs to mention the names of officers in command of Troops during the investment of Azimghurh by Koor Singh viz Major General Dames and Colonel Milman 37th Regiment, Captain Broom Madras Rifles, Captain J. D. White Brigade Major to the Garrison and in the civil department to Mr. W. Wynyard, Special Commissioner and Mr. Davies the Magistrate. Before the mutiny to Messrs C. Horne and J. Simson Civil Service. During the time the Fort was constructing to Messrs. C. Home & A. Pollock Civil Service, and Captains G. M. Boileau and C. Miles, and Your Memorialist believes Colonel Moberly Royal Artillery with General Franks Column sent in a report to Government on the Fort.

16th. Under the circumstances your Memorialist solicits the grant of these Estates intact carrying their present Revenue of Rs. 8,000 a year, and would after a period of 10 years pay and increased revenue of one fourth of the present Government demand ; when the effect of his improvements would be established. For your Memorialist is convinced that throughout the country the Revenue could be increased, by attention being paid to the present ancient system of Agriculture. Your Memorialist would here beg to explain one material circumstance to your Lordship, viz. the result likely to arise from the division of estates bound together by a community of interests under one head, by a severance of which, the harmony of the whole would be deranged : For rights of way, water from wells and tank and other village privileges which had never been questioned would if held under different masters become subjects of endless litigation etc. source of serious loss to each party, and in many other ways be a cause of irremediable inquietude.

17th. Lastly your Memorialist would mention as indicating the loyalty and usefulness of his family and that of the irreparable loss they have suffered through this Rebellion, that at Delhi on the 11th May, 1857 nine of its members were massacred and only one escaped, and he was one of the nine who defended the Magazine under Lieutenant Willoughby. At the defence of the Residency at Lucknow another relative was twice wounded in sorties, a third did good service at the siege of Delhi as Adjutant of the Regiment of Pioneers under Colonel Baird Smith C.B. of Engineers and in repressing the outbreak in the Saharunpore district. In the early wars of the Deccan an ancestor of Memorialist was killed while leading the forlorn

hope at the storming of Argaum. In short, whenever duly called Memorialist's family has ever been ready to come forward with heart and hand. Your Memorialist in this Rebellion has personally suffered very severely in the destruction of his factories and plunder of all he possessed, the labour and saving of many years, and as a consequence the utter ruin of his business. The loss of 5/6 of his Indigo Crop of 1857, which was ploughed up and otherwise damaged by the zemindars during the short time the Authorities were absent from the district in August, 1857, a second loss of the new crop of 1858 when Koer Singh invested Azimgurh. All these combined have plunged him into heavy debt, to liquidate which is impossible as he is at present circumstanced : for indeed up to the present time Memorialist has no hopes of being able to reopen his factories for season 1859.

18th. Finally your Memorialist has endeavoured to lay before your Lordship the peculiar features of his case, he could not make it shorter for obvious reasons, and in closing this, his Memorial feels assured your Lordship will grant him a just hearing and adequate reward. And as in duty bound he will ever pray.

Sd. Alexander Martin.

CHAKRAVARTI AYYANGAR OF TANJORE

By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

THE principality of Tanjore, while under the Maratha Rajas (1676—1801) produced some eminent men who were known not only for their integrity and high character but also for their able work as judges. Among them special mention may be made of two persons, viz., Ayya Sastri who made a mark in the Maratha court at Poona¹ and Chakravarti Ayyangar who distinguished himself both in Tanjore and Pudukkottai. It is unfortunate that we do not have any clear knowledge of either of them.

Chakravarti Ayyangar with whom this paper deals, was a Sastri in the court of Maharaja Sarfoji II in the early years of the last century on a monthly salary of thirty *chakrams*. Later he appears to have been appointed as the head of the *Dharma Sabha*, the chief court of justice in Tanjore. It was during that period that Sir William Blackburne, the Resident at Tanjore came to know Chakravarti Ayyangar as a man of great "integrity, impartiality and strict justice".²

About the beginning of 1814 Chakravarti Ayyangar was not considered favourably by Maharaja Sarfoji II the ruler of Tanjore, who developed a contempt for the judge. Sir William Blackburne who came to know of it wanted to see that no harm was done to Chakravarti Ayyangar. By that time Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman, the ruler of Pudukkottai was dead leaving Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman a minor to succeed to the *gadi* and with the accession of the latter, Sir William Blackburne was directed by the Government of Madras "to undertake the management of the province of Poodoocottah and the guardianship of the minor" ruler and his brother. At that time the administration of justice in the state was in a bad way. Sir William Blackburne thought that "the country would be miserable where justice fluctuated according to the pleasure of the prince, where delay was great, where recommendations were admitted and where steadiness in carrying out into execution the decision was wanting" and that "the description was not inapplicable to the administration of justice at the time" in Pudukkottai. Therefore after re-organizing the courts of justice in the State he wanted to appoint Chakravarti Ayyangar as the chief Judge of the newly constituted *Nyaya Sabha*.

To secure the services of the learned Sastri of Tanjore was, however, no easy task for Sir William Blackburne, in view of the positive dislike of the Raja of Tanjore for his judge. On the 2nd April 1814, the Resident requested Maharaja Sarfoji to permit Chakravarti Ayyangar "to go to Poodoocottah to preside over the court of justice of the Rajah Bahadur" to which the Tanjore ruler said that he would consult Chakravarti, and if

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¹ *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Cuttack, 1949.*

² *Guide to the Records of the Tanjore District, Vol. 3420, pp. 329—30.*

the latter agreed he would make no objection³, though he (the Rajah) characterised him as a wretch, ignorant of the Sastras, corrupted and unjust. On being informed the same evening by Sarfoji that Chakravarti was willing to take up the new appointment, and himself getting the consent of Chakravarti the next day, Sir William Blackburne wrote to the Maharaja requesting him to continue to pay the judge the salary of 30 *chakrams* a month which he received as one of the Sastris before his elevation to the headship of the *Dharma Sabha* for which the Resident would consider himself "under a great obligation to your Highness"⁴. In the meanwhile surprisingly enough Raja Sarfoji dismissed Chakravarti Ayyangar from the headship of the *Dharma Sabha* even before the Resident had spoken to him on the morning of the 3rd of April, charging him with injustice in the discharge of his sacred duty. Sir William Blackburne was very much offended by this action of the ruler of Tanjore. Firstly because, the Raja's behaviour was most disrespectful to the station of the Resident especially when he had voluntarily offered to relieve His Highness of a man whom he disliked by employing him at a distance where his talents and services might be useful⁵; and secondly because, the grave charges made in writing by the Raja against Chakravarti Ayyangar disqualified the latter from being employed elsewhere. Therefore in an indignant letter which he wrote to Sarfoji on the 4th April, Sir William Blackburne recapitulated the unhappy turn which things had taken in the course of the previous two days, and "in the name of His Excellency the Honourable the Governor in Council" asked the Raja "to state to me some definite acts of injustice, incapacity or corruption in Chakravarty while he filled the high station of the first judge in your Highness' court" and he further urged "you will cause the proof of such acts to be laid before me, I will call upon Chakravarty for a general statement of the whole of his conduct, since he was placed at the head of the *Dharma Sabha* and for a particular defence against every specific charge which may be brought by your Highness against him"⁶.

Chakravarti Ayyangar who was very much vexed with the treatment he had received at the hands of Sarfoji presented a petition to Sir William Blackburne threatening to carry his complaint to Madras. But since the Raja of Tanjore was in no mood to reconsider his order, Sir William Blackburne addressed him once again on the 6th of April regarding the judge. He complained that His Highness' conduct in regard to Chakravarti Ayyangar "was not less disrespectful to me than unkind" and the dismissal of Ayyangar prevented him effectively from gaining a livelihood in any other service. He further wrote, "let me entreat your Highness therefore, if the charges were made without due consideration to have the candour to acknowledge that it was so. In this you will truly show a prince's mind. If on the other hand the charges are true, there must of necessity be a thousand proofs of them existing. Let these proofs, I entreat your Highness, before me. They shall be investigated with the strictest impartiality. I will show no partiality to Chakravarty. I want only justice for them." Referring to a petition which Chakravarti Ayyangar had presented to him he wrote to the Raja of Tanjore that unless the Raja acquitted him or proved his guilt he would perforce "conduct him myself to the Council chamber of the Governor of Madras".

³ *Guide to the Records of Tanjore District*, Vol. 3420, pp. 330—34.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 334—36.

From the available records it is not known as to what the Raja of Tanjore did subsequently with regard to Chakravarti Ayyangar. Very probably he withdrew the charges levelled against him. Chakravarti Ayyangar took up the high office of the Chief Judge of the Civil and Criminal court at Pudukkottai and distinguished himself in that capacity for a period of three years. But he was not destined to live long, for towards the end of October or the beginning of November 1817 the learned judge died. The information was received by Sir William Blackburne with profound sorrow and he expressed the same in two letters that he wrote, one to the Tondaiman of Pudukkottai and the other to the Raja of Tanjore. In the second letter he wrote : "It is with great concern that I inform your Highness of the lamented death of Chakravarti Ayyangar, that able and most honoured man, who was sent to me by your Highness to fill the important and difficult station of judge, civil and criminal, of the province of Poodoocottah. Your Highness will recollect what passed between us in the appointment of Chakravarti Ayyangar and will, I trust, rejoice to hear that none of your unfavourable predictions were accomplished, but that the whole conduct of the judge formed a beautiful series of the most perfect integrity and the highest ability. No recommendation could dissuade and no influence could overawe him from the conscientious discharge of his duty. Chakravarti Ayyangar was a Honour to your Highness' service. He was a blessing to the province of Poodoocottah. The tears of the inhabitants for his death embalm his memory. Your Highness' friend Sir Alexander Johnston will deeply regret him and the British Government will hold him up as a noble example to the Native officers of their courts".

It is really very unfortunate that we do not know much about this important figure who left a considerable mark on the administration of Tanjore and Pudukkottai in the early decades of the last century. Probably there are still many others, about whom we do not know even this⁸.

⁸ *Guide to the Records of the Tanjore District*, Vol. 3424, pp. 268—69.

Extracts from the correspondence mentioned above were kindly copied for me from the Madras Record Office, by Mr. K. Chandramauli, M.A., Research student in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology.

LA JEUNESSE ET LE MARIAGE DE MME DE MAUDAVE*

By Yv. R. Gaebelé

M. Sen dans le I.H.R.C. Vol. XXVII part II a écrit sur Maudave, les notes qui suivent apportent une documentation nouvelle sur Maudave.

Le 28 Novembre 1743, les cloche de l'Eglise de Notre Dame des Anges sonnent a toute volée au boucaut aux habitants de Pondichéry que Nicole Marie Porcher des Oulches vient de recevoir le sacrement du baptême.

M. Abraham Porcher des Oulches, son père est honorablement connu dans la ville depuis quelques années déjà. En 1743 il est marchand de la Compagnie. Il s'est mariée en France à Melle Nicole Geneviève Barri, née comme lui à Paris.

Quelques mois auparavant, en Juillet 1743, Porcher des Oulches et sa femme sont au nombre des parents et amis qui signent aux contrats de mariage des filles de Mme Dupleix ! Mesdames d'Espremesnil et de Shouamille.

Le baptême de Marie Nicole est célébré en grande pompe, l'assistance et nombreuse et choisie et comme il se doit toute la famille du Gouverneur s'y trouve. Le parrain du bébé n'est il pas ce charmant Jacques Duva d'Espremesnil, Ecuyer, Conseiller au Conseil Supérieur qui en Juillet dernier a épousé Anne Christine Vuicais, fille de madame et belle-fille de M. Dupleix ?

La marraine est Mme Guillard, femme du Procureur du Roy au C. Supérieur et fille de Legou, second du Conseil.

En 1748, la famille Porcher des Oulches habite toujours Pondichéry et M. Porcher des Oulches figure sur un arrêt du Conseil Supérieur où il est appelé négociant.

Marie Nicole a vu partir son parrain pour Chandernagore et de la pour France d'où il ne devait jamais revenir. Ses parents et elle ont assisté au siège de Pondichéry par les Anglais et à la belle défense de Dupleix. Ils ont vu par la suite les Princes Indiens en procession, montés sur leurs éléphants de combat, pour l'occasion caparaçonnés d'or et de soie, entrer dans la ville avec des cadeaux innombrables et des bijoux fabuleux.

Les jours de fête sa maman l'amenait avec elle visiter le Marquis et la Marquise Dupleix. . . . Lui, si imposant sous sa grande perruque bouclée et son habit orué de galons d'or et de dentelles précieuses . . . Elle, toujours si infiniment gracieuse avec ses yeux de velours noirs et son doux parler créole, et encore elle voyait là sa grande amie Chouchon, leur fille la petite française la plus gâtée de tout l'Orient.

President of the Société de L' Histoire de L'Inde Française, Pondichéry, Madame Yvonne Robert Gaebelé is also a Corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. She has been associated for a long time with the editing of the Bulletin of the Société. Her publications include : ' Des Plages du Coromandel aux salons du Consulat et de l' Empire', ' Vie de la Princesse de Talleyrand ' ; ' Archives of the French India Historical Society' etc.

*Tiré de :— " Grand Seigneur et aventurier " (le comte de Maudave) livre en préparation.

Plus tard, la jeune comtesse de Maudave devait se rappeler les splendeurs de cette époque .. cette véritable Cour autour du Marquis et de la Marquise Dupleix, ces jeunes seigneurs qui montaient si bien à cheval.. et les soldats tout la haut sur les remparts et le chemin de ronde des bastions qui montaient la garde, pendant que claquaient au vent les étendards blancs fleurdelisés d'or du Roy de France.

....Les grands amis de ses parents sont soudain rappelés en France et s' embarquèrent par une triste nuit d' Octobre 1756..... Peu à peu tout change dans le pays, on ne parle plus de gloire et de batailles mais de marchandages et, tout bas, de trahison ! .

Godeheu a signé une trêve avec les Anglais et trois mois après un traité par lequel les Français renonçaient à la Nababie du Carnatie et aux droits que le Soubah du Deccan avait remis à Dupleix ; mais il fallait la ratification du traité en Europe et cela demande du temps. Le Gouverneur Duval de Leyrit succéda à Godeheu, Duval de Leyrit était légèrement apparenté à la famille Dupleix, étant le frère de leur gendre Duval d'Espremesnil, parrain de Marie Nicole Porcher des Oulches.

C'est sûrement à ce moment que le Père de Marie Nicole est nommé au Gouvernement des fort et ville de Karikal et naturellement il y amené sa femme et sa fille.

Peu après son arrivée à Karikal, où il remplace M. Barthelemy, Porcher des Oulches achète la maison de ce dernier que Barthelemy venait de vendre à un sieur Flacourt, employé de la Cie.

M. Poreher achetait la moitié de la maison pour la somme de 2000 roupies :—" La maison site au nord du Fort contenant 40 toises est et ouest et 22 toises nord. Elle se compose de neuf pièces pour le corp de logis, savoir 2 varangues l'une au nord, l'autre au sud, une salle entre deux, deux chambres et un cabinet à l'est et 2 autres en à l'ouest. Pour dépendances un jardin à l'ouest, plusieurs godons, basse-cour etc.

La moitié de la maison seule est aux Porcher et l'on ne peut faire autrement que de penser que pour un Gouverneur il était bien petitement logé.

Qu'était Karikal à l'époque. Il y avait seize ans à peu près que le Gouverneur Dumas l'avait acheté de Sahaji, roi de Tanjaour moyennant 50.000 chaeras, plus un prêt de 10,000 chacras, lequel ne fut jamais remboursé. On garde donc la ville ainsi que convenu.

Karikal située sur la côte à 45 milles au Sud de Pondichéry s'étend entre la mer et le velours vert de ses somptueuses rizières. A quelques milles au nord se dresse la petite ville fortifiée de Tranquebar aux Danois depuis plus d'un siècle, et au Sud, la ville également fortifiée de Négapatam, aux Hollandais. Sous Dupleix Karikal avait vu se construire certaines fortifications, au centre desquelles se dressait le Fort, Dans ce dernier ainsi que cela se faisait toujours à l'époque se trouvait l'Eglise.

Lors de l'achat par les Français de la ville de Karikal la population Indoue n'était guère que de 5,000 habitants, mais en ces dernières années la population s'accroît tous les jours.

En 1755-56 la Société Européenne semble y être assez nombreuse, au service de la Compagnie Quelques noms à particules, militaires ou marchands autour desquels se groupent tous ceux qui en dépendent ou en attendent quelques chose Il y a les soldats français de la garnison dont plusieurs se marient avec des jeune filles métisses de Pondichéry, Tranquebar, ou Négapatam.

Les enfants baissent, et malgré son jeune âge, Marie Nicole est bien souvent prise comme marraine.

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Le fameux traité ébauché par Godeheu et Saunders ne fut jamais ratifié en Europe. Bien au contraire la reprise des hostilités entre la France et l'Angleterre fut bientôt un fait accompli. La nouvelle en arriva aux Indes en Octobre 1756. Le Gouverneur de Pondichéry recevait pour instructions de ne se lever à aucun acte de provocation envers les Anglais dans l'Inde. De Leyrit obéit aveuglement à ces enjonctions ; mais les Anglais moins scrupuleux et voyant notre inaction prenaient Calcutta au Prince Indien qui requait sur cette portion du Bengale, et peu après la ville de Chandernagore tomba également en leur pouvoir.

Bussy, toujours à Hyderabad, avant même le départ de Dupleix, répondit à ces hostilités en s'emparant de tous les comptoirs de la côte de Ganjam à Masulipatam environ 600 Kms.

Voilà où en était la situation lorsque débarqua fin Août 1757, le Chevalier de Soupire, Maître de camp de Lally, avec 1100 hommes de troupes. Les six vaisseaux qui l'amènèrent repartirent aussitôt pour les Isles, craignant l'escadre anglaise. De Soupire faisait espérer l'arrivée prochaine de l'Escadre au complet, commandée par l'amiral d'Aché, et ayant à son bord le comte de Lally.

Avec le chevalier de Soupire descendirent quelques gentilshommes français dont le Comte de Dolizi de Maudave, qui, pour la première fois met le pied sur la terre de l'Inde. Il est colonel de cavalerie, Chevalier de St. Louis, fils lui même d'un Colonel, chevalier de saint Louis, Beau nom, parfait gentilhomme, bien en cour et qu'on sait ami personnel du Ministre de Louis XV, le duc de Choiseul-Praslin. Il est né le 2 Juin 1725 dans l'Isère, ce qui lui donne 32 ans lors de son arrivée dans l'Inde.

L'Année 1757 se termine et dès les premiers mois de 1758 la nouvelle arrive des Isles que d'Aché appareille enfin pour les Indes avec son escadre au complet. Elle y arrive le 27 Avril et aussitôt le Général de Lally descend à terre avec ses officiers et hommes de troupes. Parmi ces officiers les fils des plus belles, des plus nobles familles de France ; Crillon, La Vare, Conflans, Montmorency, La Tour du Pui, d'Estaing, etc.

L'une des premières personnes avec qui il entre en contact, après le Gouverneur est son jeune aide de camp, le comte de Maudave qui revenait justement de pousser une pointe de reconnaissance sur Karikal.

Il y était allé s'enformer de la position exacte occupée par l'escadre anglaise. Par Tranquebar et Négapatam, toutes 2 à courte distance de Karikal on pensait pouvoir avoir des nouvelles sûres. Il rapporte que l'escadre anglaise se trouve ancrée dans la rade de Madras.

Est-ce en ce Mois d'Avril que de Maudave rencontra Mlle des Oulches, nous ne savons. Mais l'amour fut certainement réciproque entre ces 2 êtres jeunes et charmants. Il fallait que Marie Nicole fut royalement belle pour être du goût du grand seigneur trop gâté et certainement blasé qu'était de Maudave à trente deux ans.

A peine le Comte de Lally fut-il arrivé à Pondichéry que le brillant aide de camp est entrainé dans l'orbite de son général, qui, sans laisser à ses troupes le temps de souffler, se précipite vers Coudelour le lendemain même de son arrivée.

Au bout de quelques jours il en faisait le siège et la ville prise commençait celui du Fort Saint-David :—“Ce dernier était réputé imprenable, défendu par une forte garnison, farci d’artillerie et bien pourvu de munitions.

Un mois après le fort tombait. Rien ne le dressait plus sur la côte entre Pondichéry et Karikal. Aussi après quelques jours de repos, les troupes marchent-elles sur Karikal pour en faire le pivot de l’expédition du Tanjaour.

Dès l’arrivée du Général de Lally dans l’Inde, le Gouverneur de Pondichéry lui a dit et répété qu’il n’y a dans toute la ville que quinze jours de vivre, que l’argent manque complètement. Lally fit alors le projet d’aller demander au Radjah de Tanjaour le paiement d’une ancienne dette encore jamais réglée, dont le reçu avait été laissé par Dupleix en partant à son successeur.

Quelques jours après la chute du Fort Saint David l’Escadre français entraînait toutes voiles dehors, dans le port de Karikal.

La petite ville devait connaître quelques semaines de gloire et ces jours heureux commencèrent le 2 Juin 1758 lorsqu’à l’aube, du haut de la Forteresse, la vigie signala les bâtimens de la Marine du Roy, qui salignaient dans les eaux de Karikal, leurs voiles toutes roses du lever du soleil.

Le Général de Lally ne se trouve pas à bord trop occupé à coudelour et au Fort Saint David, sa volonté sur ce point est formelle : de ce dernier il ne doit subsister pierre sur pierre. Le Général devait arriver sous peu, par terre, voyageant en palanquin ou à cheval alternativement comme on le faisait à l’époque, entouré de son brillant état-Major.

On se figure aisément la difficulté qu’eurent M. et Mme Porcher des Oulches à ravitailler marines et soldats ; d’ autant plus que ce bel officier qui à remarqué leur fille, ce Comte de Maudave vient de signifier à sa belle-mère qu’il tient à se marier au plus tôt enfin que la présence du Général de Lally à Karikal et celle de tous les officiers ses amis rehaussent de tout leur éclat cette cérémonie.

(Voir le contrat de mariage)

Quelques jours après la signature du contrat de mariage, exactement le 26 Juin 1758 l’Eglise du Fort qui n’avait vu jusqu’alors que des cérémonies bien modestes, se trouve magnifiquement parée et illuminée. Des faisceaux de drapeaux aux lys de France decorent les voutes, tout Karikal est accouru aux alentours de l’ Eglise trop petite, remplie d’officiers aux uniformes dorés tout couverts de la gloire récente de la prise du Fort Saint David. Tous veulent apercevoir la jolie enfant si gracieuse sous ses voiles qui s’avance aux bras de son père.

L’unique cloche de la petite Eglise sonne allègrement la cérémonie terminée au moment ou Marie Nicole quitte l’autel au bras de son mari le beau comte de Maudave, grand Seigneur jusqu’au bout des ongles, aide de camp chamarré d’or du Général de Lally. Ne se demande-t-elle pas la douce enfant si le beau rêve va continuer ? Mais voici la sacrytie et le registre tout préparé par les soins du Rd. Père de St. Estevan.

Voici ce qu’il y écrivit en ce jour

“Le vingt deuxième du mois de juin de l’an mil sept cent cinquante huit après deux publications de deux bans, l’exemption de la 3ème accordée, ne, s’étant trouvé aucun obstacle je soussigné ay donné la bénédiction

nuptiale à M. Henry Louis Laurent de Dolizi de Maudave, colonel de cavalerie, chevalier de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, aide de camp de M. le Comte de Lally, général des armées de sa majesté dans les Indes, fils de Monsieur Jean Charles de Dolizi de Maudave, ancien Colonel et Chevalier de l'ordre militaire de Saint Louis et de dame Marie Thérèse de Maniquet son épouse et Madame Marie Nicole Porcher des Oulches, fille de M. Abraham Pierre Porcher des Oulches, Conseiller du Grand Conseil de Pondichéry et commandant de Karikal et de Dame Nicole Geneviève Barry son épouse, en foy de quoy j'ai signé avec les témoins ci dessous :—

de St. Estevan—J.S.M. etc. etc.

Tout est fini maintenant la dernière signature apposée. La petite créole de Pondichéry est bien et authentiquement noble et puissante dame, comtesse de Maudave. Et les beaux gentilshommes de s'empresse à venir féliciter le couple charmant. Aujourd'hui tout est aux jouissances sur ce petit coin de l'Inde.... On y rêve de bataille et de hauts faits d'armes à accomplir.... Maudave lui rêve d'amour en contemplant sa délicieuse jeune femme de 15 ans.—

(CONTRAT DE MARIAGE)

“ Par devant moy soussigné, Employé de la Compagnie de “ France, faisant seul fonction de Notaire, en son comptoir de Karikal, en présence des Témoins cy après nommés, furent présents messire Louis Henry Laurent de Dolizi de Maudave, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis, Colonel dans les troupes de Sa Majesté employées aux Indes, natif de Barraux, diocèse de Grenoble, Province du Dauphiné, fils majeur de Messire Jean Charles de Dolizi de Maudave Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis ancien Colonel d'Infanterie, de qui mon dit sr comparant a déclaré avoir le consentement, et de defunte dame Marie Thérèse de Maniquet sa mère, De l'agrément de Très haut et très Puissant Seigneur Monseigneur Thomas Arthur de Lally Comte de Lally, Lieutenant Général des armées du Roy, Inspecteur Général des Troupes de Sa Majesté, Grande Croix de L'Ordre Royal et Militaire de St-Louis, Colonel d'un Régiment Irlandois, Commissaire du Roy, Sindic de la Compagnie de France, Commandant Général de tous les Etablissements Français dans les Indes Orientales, à ce présent Monsieur de Dolizi de Maudave fils pour luy et au nom d'une part.

Et Monsieur Abraham Pierre Porcher des Oulches, Conseiller au Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry, Commandant des villes, forts et dépendances de Kareikalle, Dame Nicolle Geneviève Barry son Epouse qu'il autorise à l'affect des Présentes stipulant pour Demoiselle Marie Nicolle Porcher des Oulches Native de Pondichéry, leurs fille mineure à ce présente et de son consentement aussy pour elle et en son nom d'autre part.

Lesquelles parties en La Présence et de l'avis de leurs Parens et amis cy après nommés, sçavoir de la part de mon dit sieur futur Epoux, de Très haut et Très Puissant Seigneur, Monseigneur Joseph Auguste de Montmoreney Laval, Marquis de Montmoreney, Premier baron Chrétien Chevalier de L'Ordre Militaire de St-Louis Colonel d'Infanterie, suivant la lettre datée de Pondichéry le treize du courant, cy annexée de M. Charles Alexis Brulau de Genlis, Chevalier de Genlis suivant sa lettre datée de Pondichéry la dix neuf du courant aussy cy annexée. De M. François de Gothe Capitaine des Vaisseaux du Roy, Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de St-Louis, suivant sa lettre datée de Pondichéry le vingt un du courant, cy

55 Dr. of Arch.

annexée. De M. Fidelle Constantin de Alain, de Marcel Du Poet, Chevalier de L'Ordre de St-Jean de Jérusalem Lieutenant des Vaisseaux du Roy, suivant sa lettre datée de Pondichéry le vingt du courant aussi cy annexée.

Aussy en Présence de Très Haut et Puissant Seigneur Monseigneur Charles Deodate Destaing de Toulouse de Ravel etc., etc., Brigadier des Armées du Roy, De Très Haut et Puissant Seigneur Mr. Jacques Jean de Lafare Chevalier de l'ordre Militaire de St-Louis, Mestre de camp de cavalerie Maréchal des Logis de l'Armée du Roy dans les Indes Orientales. De Très Haut et Très Puissant Seigneur Messire Louis Félix Sébastien Balli de Bartons de Grillon, Chevalier de L'Ordre de St-Jean de Jérusalem, Mestre de Camp de Dragons Abbé de St-Ibéry. Mrs Marie Joseph Géronme Danicom de landivisiau, Brigadier des Armées du Roy, Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de St. Louis. Mrs Augustin Antoine d'Errard de Chamboy, Chevalier de l'Ordre de St.-Louis De Très Haut et Très Puissant Seigneur, Mrs Jean Georges de Fumel Lieutenant Colonel d'Infanterie, Major Général de l'Armée Chevalier au Régiment de Lally à ce présent de Très Haut et Très Puissant Seigneur Monseigneur Anne Daché comte Daché Chef d'Escadre des Armées Navales du Roy, Commandant une Escadre de Sa Majesté dans l'Inde, suivant sa lettre dattée de Négapatam le treize Juin Mil sept cent cinquante huit annexée. \

Et de la part de Mademoiselle future épouse de Mrs Henry Georges Krog, Gouverneur Général des Etablissements de la Royale Compagnie de Danemark, M. Jean Jacques Henry Castonnier, Major et Commandant des Troupes du Roy de Danemare; Mr. Joetman ancien Directeur de la Royale Compagnie de Danemarek et ancien Commandant à Bengale à ce présens, de Monsieur Georges Duval de Leyrit Eeuyer, Gourveneur des villes et fort de Pondichéry et Commandant Général des Etablissements François dans l'Inde, suivant sa lettre dattée de Pondichéry le vingt deux du courant cy annexée. Mrs Charles de Verdière de Dragons, M. Estienne Claude Chevreau, Tresorier de L'armée. M. Jean Louis de Tauranac Sousbracargue et Madame d'Argillière son épouse, Mrs Jean Michel de Labath, secrétaire de M. Le Comte de Lally du Révérend Très Révérend Père Jean Louis Xavier de St-Estevean de la Compagnie de Jésus, Madame Loudea, Le Blane, M. Pierre Fromaget, Négociant de M. La Tour de Nigest. A ce Présent tous amis ont volontairement reconnu et confessé avoir fait entr'elles les accords et conventions de mariage qui suivant.

C'est à sçavoir que mon dit sieur de Dolizy de Maudave fils et mademoiselle Porcher des Oulches se sont promis prendre par la loi et nom de mariage pour iceluy faire célébrer et solemniser en face de notre mère Ste-Eglise, le plutôt que faire se pourra et à la première requisition de l'une des dit Parties.

Seront mes dit s^r et demoiselle futurs époux commun entous biens meubles et conquets immeubles suivant et au désir de la coutume de Paris sur laquelle leur futur communauté sera régie et gouvernée, quand bien même par la suite ils feraient leurs demeures et des acquisitions des biens en Pays, loix, coutumes et usages contraires, à quoy ils renoncent très expressement par ces Présentes.

Ne seront point tenus Mesdames sieur et Demoiselle futurs des Dettes et Hypothèques l'un de l'autre, faites et créés avant leur mariage, si aucun y a ils seront payées, et acquittés par l'auteur d'icelle, sans que l'autre ny ses biens en soient aucunement tenus.

En faveur duquel mariage mes dits sieurs et demoiselle Porcher des Oulches se sont obligés solidairement envers mon dit sieur futur époux, pour madame demoiselle leur fils de luy bailler et délivrer, en avancement d'hoirie de leurs successions futures jusques à concurrence de la somme de vingt mille roupies en espèce comptant, au moyen de quoy mademoiselle future épouse ne pourra demander aucun compte ni partage au survivant de mes dits P. et De. Père et mère (demeurant en viduité) des biens du Prédécedé, en faisant toutefois bon et fidèle inventaire.

Laquelle somme de vingt mille roupies mon dit sieur de Dolizy de Maudave future époux reconnais dès à présent avoir reçu en Pagodes d'or et monnayes ayant cours de Mesdames et sr et De Porcher des Oulches, dont il est content les en quitte et Décharge et tous autres.

De laquelle somme de vingt mille roupies le tiers entrera en la future communauté et la surplus avec tout ce qui adviendra, et échera à Madame demoiselle future épouse en meubles, immeubles par succession, donation legs ou autrement, luy demeurera propre et aux siens de son coté et ligne.

En faveur duquel mariage mon sr futur époux a doué et doue la dite demoiselle Epouse de la somme de cinq cent roupies viagère par chacun an, à l'avoir et prendre sur tout les biens du mon sr future Epoux, sitôt qu'il aura lieu, sans être tenu d'en faire demande en justice pour en jouir par elle suivant la coutume.

La survivant de mond sr et demoiselle futurs époux aura et prendra par préciput, et avant partage faite des biens meubles de leur dite communauté tel qu'il voudra choisir suivant la prisée l'inventaire, qui en sera lors fait et sans crue jusqu' à concurrence de la somme de mille roupies ou la dite somme en deniers comptant au choix du dit survivant.

Et dans le cas que la dite demoiselle future Epouse survive mond sr futur époux sans Enfant provenant du d. mariage, elle prendra tous les joyaux, bijoux, bagues, diamants et hardes à son usage qui ne trouveront au jour du décès du dit sr future époux, sans aucune déduction sur son Préciput ny autres Droits matrimoniaux, pour raison de quoy mon dt sr futur époux fait présentement, en tant que besoin est, en serait toutes donations entre vifs et irrévocables et en cas qu'il y ait enfants, la dite donation demeurera nulle et sans effet, mais si les dits Enfants venaient à mourir en minorité, ou sans être pourvu par mariage, ou autrement, ladite Donation reprendrait sa même force et vertu.

Sera permis à mad. Delle future épouse et aux Enfants qui naitront du dit mariage d'accepter la dite communauté ou y renoncer et en cas de renonciation reprendre tout ce qu'elle y aura apporté avec ce qui luy sera échu pendant iceluy, par succession, donation legs ou autrement, même si elle survit lesdites douaires, Préciput joyaux, bijoux, bagues, diamants et hardes à son usage. Si la donation de l'autre part est dans le cas d'avoir son exécution sans qu'elle ny ses d. enfants soient tenus d' aucune dettes et charges de la dite communauté encore qu'elle y eut parlé, s'y fut obligée et y eut été condamnée dont elle sera acquitté par les héritiers et sur les biens de mondit sieur futur Epoux, pourquoy il y aura hypothèque sur iceux de ce aujourd' huy.

S'il est vendu ou aliéné aucuns biens propres à L'un ou à l'autre de mesd sr et Delle futurs Epoux. le Remploi on sera fait en acquisition d'autres héritages, ou Rentes pour sortir pareille nature de Propre à eux

et à ceux de leurs cotés et Ligne et si l'Employ ne se trouvait fait aujourd'hui de la dissolution de la Dte communauté les deniers seront repris par les biens et Effets de la d. communauté ; s'ils ne suffisent pas à l'Égard de la d. Delle future épouse sur les propres et autres biens de Mond sr futur époux, l'action duquel tiendra lieu de Remploi et sera à mond sr et demoiselle futurs époux, à leurs enfans et à ceux de leurs côté et Ligne.

Et pour faire insinuer ces présentes partout ou besoin sera mond sieur futur Epoux a constitué et constitue son Procureur le porteur des Présentes donnant tous pouvoirs de ce faire.

Ce fait en présence de M. Jean François Cossigny, Trésorier de l'armée du Roy et de Mr. Joseph Conigliane, Capitaine des houzards.

Pour ce témoins requis et pour l'Exécution des présentes les parties ont élu leurs domiciles en leurs demeures auxquels lieux, nonobstant, promettant obligant, chacun en droit se y renonceant fait et passé au Fort St-Louis de Kareikalle et en l'hôtel de M. le Commandant size en la ville de Kareikalle, les quinze et vingt sixième jours de Juin l'an mil sept cent cinquante huit et ont signé :

MM. Porcher des oulehes- Dolizy de Maudve- Lally- N. Barry Porcher des oulehes- Poreher des oulehes.- J. L. de Saint Estevan. Le Chevalier de Crillon Charles D'Estaing- H. G. Krog- Verdière, Castonnier- Joelman- Satin de l'Isle- De la Fare- Dechamboy- Fumel- Delaumar- De Landivisiau- Alvarez de Chavigny- De Fauvanal, Fromagat- Latour de Nigest- Lasbarthes- Loudéa Leblanc Dosillière De Fauvanac- Chauzeau- Cossigny- Conigliane. Alvarez de Chavigny.

YOUTH AND MARRIAGE OF MADAME DE MAUDAVE

By Mme Yvonne Robert Gaebelé

MR. Sen has already written on Maudave in the Indian Historical Records Commission Vol. XXVII. Some new facts on the subject have been set forth in the following notes.

On the 28th November 1743 the loud peal of the bells of our Lady of Angés (Angels) announced to the inhabitants of Pondichery that Nicole Marie Porcher des Oulches had received the sacrament of baptism.

Her father, Mr. Abraham Porcher des Oulches, had for some years been well known in the town. In 1743 he was a merchant of the Company. He was married to Miss Nicole Geneviève in France who like him was born in Paris.

In July 1743, a few months before the above date Porcher des Oulches and his wife were among the relatives and friends who signed the contracts of marriage of the daughters of Mrs. Dupleix, Mrs. Espremesnil, and Mrs. Shouamille. The baptism of Marie Nicole was celebrated with great pomp and was attended by select people and also as it should have been, by the whole family of the Governor. The God-father of the baby was charming Jacques Duval of Espremesnil, Counsellor in the Superior Council, who in July last married Anne Christine Vuicais, daughter of Mrs. and step daughter of Mr. Dupleix.

The God-mother was Mrs. Guillard, wife of the Attorney of the King in the Superior Council and daughter of Legou, Assistant of the Council.

In 1748 the family of Porcher des Oulches was still living in Pondichery and Mr. Porcher des Oulches figured in an order of the Superior Council and was called merchant.

Marie Nicole saw her God-father proceeding to Chandernagore and from there to France, whence he was not to return again. Her parents and she were present at the siege of Pondichery by the English and the excellent defence offered by Dupleix. They had seen the Indian princes in procession on their war elephants, caparisoned with gold and silk, entering the town with innumerable gifts and fabulous jewels.

On holidays her mother used to take her to a pay visits to the Marquis and Marchioness Dupleix. He (*i.e.* Dupleix) looked so imposing in his curly large wig and his coat embroidered in gold and precious lacés. . . . She was ever graceful with her eyes like black velvet and with her sweet way of speaking creole. She (Marie) could see there her great friend Chouchon, their (Marquis and Marchioness Dupleix) most spoilt daughter in the whole of the East.

Later, the young Countess of Maudave recalled to herself the splendours of that epoch. that Court around the Marquis and Marchioness Dupleix, those young Lords, who rode so well on horses. . . . and the soldiers up the ramparts and round the road of the bastions, who were on guard, when the white standards of the King of France adorned with Fleurs-de-lis of gold fluttered in the wind.

The intimate friends of her parents were suddenly recalled to France and on a sad night of October 1754 they embarked (for their destination) Gradually everything was changed in the country and nobody spoke of glory and battles.... They spoke only of trade and [whispered treason.]

Godcheu signed a truce with the English and three months later a treaty by which the French renounced the Nababship of Carnatic and waived the rights given to Duplein by the *Subah* of Deccan. But the ratification of the treaty was to take place in Europe and that required time. Governor Duval of Esprit succeeded Godeheu. Duval of Esprit being the brother of their (Maquis and Marchioness Dupleix) son-in-law Duvel of Espremesnil, God-father of Marie Nicole Porcher des Oulches, was distantly related to the family of Dupleix.

It was at this time that the father of Marie Nicole was appointed to the Governorship of Fort and Town of Karikal and naturally he brought his wife and daughter (with him).

Some time after his arrival at Karikal where he replaced Mr. Barthelemy, Porcher des Oulches bought the house of Barthelemy which he had recently sold to one Sicur Flacourt, an employee of the Company. Mr. Porcher bought half of the house for the sum of Rs. 2,000/-. The house was situated on the North of the Fort containing 40 "toises" (French measurement corresponding to the length of an arm or so) to the East and West and 22 "toises" to the North. The main portion of the building consisted of eight parts *viz.*, two verandahs—one to the north and the other to the south—a hall between them, two rooms and one small room to the East and two others to the West. Attached to that main building there were a garden to the West, several godowns and a lower courtyard etc.

Only half of the house belonged to Porcher and one could not help thinking that for a Governor it was insufficient.

What was Karikal at that time? It was about sixteen years ago that Governor Dumas had bought it from Sahaji, King of Tanjore for 50,000 chacras and also gave him a loan of 10,000 chacras (which sum) was never re-imbursed. One could therefore regard the French ownership of the town as settled.

Karikal was situated on the sea-coast 45 miles to the South of Pondichery. It extended between the sea and the velvet green of its gorgeous rice-plantations. A few miles to the North stands the small fortified town of Tranquebar belonging to the Danes for over a century and to the South the equally fortified town of Negapatam belonging to the Dutch.

During Dupleix's time certain fortifications were built in Karikal, in the centre of which was erected the fort. Inside the fort a church was built as was common in the epoch. At the time the French bought the town of Karikal the Hindu population was hardly 5,000, but in the succeeding years the population went increasing every day.

In 1755-56, the Europeans in the service of the Company were fairly numerous. One could mention a few names belonging to the nobility, the Military or the traders around whom assembled all those depending upon them or supplying them with their necessaries. There were French soldiers of the garrison of whom several got married to half-bred young girls of Pondichery, Tranquebar or Nagapatam.

Children were on the decline and notwithstanding her young age Marie Nicole had very often to act as God-mother.

The famous treaty drafted out by Godeheu and Saunders was never ratified in Europe. On the contrary, the resumption of hostilities between France and England soon became an accomplished fact. The news of the hostilities reached India in October 1756. The Governor of Pondichery received instructions not to commit any act that might provoke the English in India. De Leyrit obeyed the injunctions blindly, but the English, who were less scrupulous, saw our inaction and took Calcutta from the Indian prince who was reigning in that portion of Bengal, and sometime later the town of Chandernagore also fell to them.

Bussy, who was in Hyderabad, answered to these hostilities—even before the departure of Dupleix—by taking possession of all the factories of the coast, from Ganjam to Masulipatam about 600 Kilometres.

This is an account of the situation about the end of August 1757. Chevalier de Soupire, head of the Camp of Lally, with 11,000 troops and six ships with which he had come set out again for the islands. Afraid of the English squadron, De Soupire, waited for the arrival of the complete squadron, commanded by Admiral D'Aché and having the Count of Lally on board.

Accompanying Chevalier de Soupire were some French gentlemen among whom was Count de Dolivi de Maudave who for the first time set his foot on the soil of India. He was colonel of the cavalry, Chevalier de St. Louis, son of a colonel, also a Chevalier de St. Louis and a perfect gentleman. He was a personal friend of the Minister of Louis XV, Duke of Choiseul-Praslin in whose good books he was. He was born on the 25th June 1725 at Isere and was 32 when he arrived in India.

During the first months of the year 1758 news arrived from the islands that D'Aché had set sail for India with his complete squadron. It arrived on the 27th April and immediately General de Lally alighted with his officers and men of troops. Among these officers were the sons of the finest and noblest families of France: Crillon, La Vare, Conflans, Montmorency, La Tour du Pin, d'Estaing, etc.

One of the first persons after the Governor with whom he (Lally) came into contact was his young aide-de-camp, the Count of Maudave who had just come back having completed a reconnaissance of Karikal.

He had gone there to ascertain the exact position occupied by the English squadron. It was felt that definite news could be obtained through Tranquebar and Negapatam, both of which were at short distance from Karikal. He reported that the English squadron could be seen lying at anchor off the shore of Madras. We do not know whether in that month of April de Maudave met Mlle des Oulches, but love was undoubtedly reciprocal between these two charming souls. The fact is that endowed with a queenly beauty Marie Nicole was just to the taste of that extremely pampered and undoubtedly surfeited great Lord Maudave of 32.

General de Lally had hardly arrived in Pondichery when the brilliant aide-de-camp was in his good favour. The former without losing a moment hastened towards Coudelour (Cuddalore) the very next day of his arrival.

Within a few days he besieged the town, took it and started besieging Fort St. David, which was reputed as impregnable and was defended by a strong garrison with artillery and was well-provided with munitions.

One month later the Fort capitulated. Nothing could make it rise again on the coast between Pondichery and Karikal. Also after a few days of rest, the troops marched on Karikal to use it as a jumping ground for the invasion of Tanjore.

Since the arrival of General de Lally in India, the Governor of Pondichery had been telling him over and over again that in the whole town there was no more than a fortnight's provision and there was terrible shortage of money. Lally then proposed to go to the Rajah of Tanjore and ask him to pay off an old debt which had never been paid and the receipt for which had been handed over by Dupleix to his successor at the time of his departure.

A few days after the fall of Fort St. David, the French squadron entered the port of Karikal in full sail.

The small town was to witness a few weeks of glory and those happy days began on the 2nd June 1758 when at day break from up the fortress the look-out-man pointed out the structure of the royal war-ships which stood in line in the waters of Karikal with their sails up since sunrise. General de Lally was not to be found on board. He was occupied with the affairs of Coudelour and Fort Saint David. About the latter he would leave no stone unturned. His determination on that point was firm.

The General was to arrive shortly by land, travelling in palanquin or horseback alternatively in accordance with current practice, surrounded by his brilliant staff officers.

One could easily understand the difficulty Mr. and Mrs. Porcher des Oulches had in revictualling the sailors and the soldiers. And what is more important the handsome officer, Count of Maudave, who was attracted towards their daughter came to tell his (would be) mother-in-law that he would like to get married as early as possible, so that the ceremony might take place at Karikal in the presence of General Lally and all his officer friends who would add all their glamour to the ceremony.

(SEE THE CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE)

A few days after the signature of the marriage contract, exactly on the 26th June 1758, the Church of the Fort, which had till then only witnessed very modest ceremonies, was seen magnificently decorated and illuminated. A number of French flags were decorating the domes of the Church and the whole population of Karikal gathered around the small Church, crowded with officers in gilded uniform all covered with the glory of the recent capture of Fort St. David. Every one was eager to see the beautiful girl so graceful in her veil and walking on the arms of her father.

The unique bell of the small Church was ringing cheerfully when the ceremony terminated and Marie Nicole left the altar on the arm of her husband, the handsome Count of Maudave, every inch an aristocrat, aide-de-camp bedecked with the gold decorations given by General de Lally. Did the sweet girl not ask herself if the pleasant dream was going to last? But there were the sacristy and the register, all prepared through the good offices of the Reverend Father of St. Estevan. This is what he wrote there that day:

On the twenty second day of the month of June of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty eight, after two banns were published and the exemption from the third was granted, not finding any obstacle I sign and

give the nuptial benediction to Mr. Henry Louis Laurent of Dolizi de Maudave, Colonel of cavalry, Chevalier of the Military order of St. Louis aide-de-camp of M.le Count de Lally, General of the Armies of His Majesty in India, son of M. Jean Charles de Dolizi de Maudave former Colonel and Chevalier of the Military order of St. Louis and Mrs. Marie Thérèse de Maniquet his spouse and Madam Marie Nicole Porcher des Oulches, daughter of Mr. Abraham Pierre Porcher des Oulches, Counsellor of the Grand Council of Pondichery and Commander of Karikal and Mrs. Nicole Geneviève Barry his spouse. In witness whereof I have signed with other witnesses named below :³

de St. ESTEVAN J. S. M. etc. etc.

All ended happily and the last signature was affixed. The little creole of Pondichery thus became the good and genuinely aristocratic powerful lady, Countess of Maudave. And the handsome gentlemen came in haste to congratulate the charming couple. All were that day rejoicing in a small corner of India. People were dreaming of battles and high feats of arms to be accomplished. As for Maudave, he was dreaming of love while gazing at his charming young wife of 15.

Sd/- Yv. R. GAEBELE,

[Taken out from "Great Lord and Adventure" (Count of Maudave) book under preparation].

TRADE UNION SPIRIT AMONG THE WEAVERS OF BENGAL TOWARDS THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By Hari Ranjan Ghosal

THE origin of trade unionism in India is commonly ascribed to the influence of the West. While there is some truth in the contention, it is not wholly correct to say so. In fact the germs of trade unionism may be found in the old guild system, which was an important feature of industrial organization in this country. It is interesting to note that some years ago during my research among the Bengal Secretariat records in Calcutta I chanced to come across a number of unpublished documents, from a perusal of which it would be found that as early as the end of the eighteenth century something not unlike the modern trade union movement marked the activities of the weavers in Bengal from time to time. These documents are therefore extremely important for a study of the economic history of our country.

The first available document on the subject is a letter from J. Taylor, Commercial Resident of Dacca, to the Calcutta Board of Trade dated 25th November, 1793. Herein the writer informs the Board that the weavers of his residency have given him notice that it will no longer be possible for them to supply cloths for the Company at former rates since there has been a rise in the prices of articles. It is further stated that when the commercial Resident refused to comply with their demand, the weavers resorted to sabotage and attempted to lower the quality of the cloths by effecting a saving in the quantity of the thread used.

The following extracts from the letter of John Cheap, Commercial Resident of Sonamukhi,¹ to the Board of Trade dated 29th June 1794² are particularly interesting in this connection: "In the 5th year of my agency several people who had never worked for the Company took advances from me and also some few in the early part of 1793, but very shortly in (after) the commencement of that year there was such an influx of private merchants that so far from being able to obtain new weavers, I could not even retain the labour of the old ones to work the Company's fabrics; and it was in consequence of this circumstance that I made the Settlement transmitted with my letter of 15th July, 1793; but finding notwithstanding at the close of the year that the weavers had by no means fulfilled their engagements in regard to the number of cloths.....I conceived it was absolutely necessary I should have written engagements which I accordingly demanded. At Sonamukhi the people would not for a long time have anything to do with written engagements and the same happened at Pattersayer.³ It was then that I tried the experiment of dismissing the weavers from the Company's employ, but so far from

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1. In the Bankura district. Though the Commercial Residency of Sonamukhi was named after this place, the head station of this residency was situated at Surul in the Birhum district, while at Sonamukhi, there was a subordinate factory.

2. Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Consultations, 22 July, 1794.

3. Patrasayer—in the Bankura district.

being considered as a punishment, it was eagerly embraced by the head weavers who not only went away themselves but had influence sufficient to prevent others from coming near me.....
I have endeavoured as much as possible to break this kind of influence by never assembling the weavers if I can help it, and this I can with ease manage at Soorool but not at the out factories, for the head people constantly contrive to have them collected together and when no other reason occurs they pretend it is merely because the weavers wish to see me."

In another letter to the Board of Trade dated 29th July, 1794⁴, Cheap observes that at Sonarundi⁵ the *izaradars*⁶ and *mandals*⁷ have great influence over the weavers, and "it becomes their interest to create misunderstanding between the Factory and them. Habits of intimacy, the same cast (sic) and living in the village give them an influence which I am convinced no exertion of the Resident will be able to overthrow....
and indeed the former mode of conducting business in this aurung⁸ was so oppressive that there are but few young-men in that Division who weave, their parents having given up teaching them, preferring their being employed in the Fields to the risk of their suffering what they themselves had felt."

The spirit of trade unionism among the weavers was not confined to the commercial residencies of Dacca and Sonamukhi. In a letter to the Board of Trade, dated 31 July, 1794⁹, Samuel Beachcroft, Commercial Resident on Harial¹⁰, wrote that the weavers demanded increased prices for dearness of grain and cotton, and obstinately confined themselves to the coarse fabrics, which had "a great demand with the natives", and the middling sorts in spite of his best efforts to the contrary. Likewise the weavers of Dwarhatta, a subordinate station under Haripal¹¹, gave notice to the Commercial Resident in 1799, expressing their inability to work for the Company any longer.

The above account, brief as it is, will make it sufficiently clear that the weavers if their interests so demanded would not scruple to defy the Company's authority. Almost every species of trade or profession had in those days a guild of its own, and the headmen of the guild had great influence over the mass of manufacturers or artisans under them. It is especially interesting to note that combinations among the weavers were not unknown at the time, and that to break these the commercial residents had to use all possible means in their power. It should be noted further in this connection that while the weavers were often reluctant to work for the English Company, they would eagerly receive advances from the foreign merchants and indigenous traders because the latter would offer higher prices for their fabrics and were less scrupulous about the quality than the English Company¹².

⁴. Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. 5 August, 1794.

⁵. A village in the Katwa subdivision of the Burdwan district.

⁶. Leaseholders.

⁷. Village headmen.

⁸. Factory or godown.

⁹. Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons. 12 August, 1794.

¹⁰. In the Rajshahi district.

¹¹. In the Hooghly district.

¹². Letter from John Cheap to Board of Trade, 29 June, 1794.

STAMFORD RAFFLES AND THE GILLESPIE CALUMNIES

By S. N. Das Gupta

THE Dutch administrative system in Java was a byword for its ungenerous and illiberal methods. The narrow concept of monopoly which governed Dutch trade relations with competitors, formed also the basic principles of political administration in the territories subject to the direct rule of the Dutch East India Company. The principal source of revenue was the monopoly in grain and other produce of the land which the cultivators were required to deliver to the regents of the districts "at an inadequate and arbitrary rule" (forced deliveries); this was in turn distributed to the consumer at a far higher rate. Thus, in a way, the entire population depended for their subsistence on the government. Custom, no doubt, authorized the payment of a certain portion of the crop to the State as tax on land, but the cultivators had no positive security against rapacious officials. The power and influence of authority was successfully asserted to stifle their complaints and the peasant though "suffering the greatest injustice, despairing of relief would endure almost any privation rather than quit the land of his forefathers to which he felt himself attached by the strongest ties of religion, of habit and of affection"¹. Secondly, a contribution was levied on the regents of the districts and paid by them in recognition of Dutch political supremacy (contingents). Thirdly, feudal service was another of the grievances under which the people groaned. The public officials universally employed the services of the people without regular hire and "no means existed of affording a direct control on the demands for labour" (forced labour²). The native chiefs, too, imitated the same system. Thus the energies of the people were crushed, their labour frittered away "becoming neither productive to themselves nor to the State", in short they were reduced to the lowest state of vassalage and subjection. Fourthly, the funds of public societies were appropriated to the government treasury and the private property of individuals forcibly borrowed. Lastly, the issue of paper currency was arbitrarily increased to defray the expenses of the State, and when this proved inadequate, the government was forced to pawn a portion of their colonial produce in payment of the demands of their establishments. The more the trade returns showed a decline, the greater the exactions on and exploitation of the people. Dirk Van Hogendorp, a member of the Commission of 1803, had advocated cultivation freed from all feudal obligations and subject only to a general tax in kind on land and had thus anticipated the reforms which Raffles was to introduce. The plan, however, was not adopted as being too revolutionary. The Colonial Charter of 1806 provided for the almost complete freedom in trade and cultivation, which was not carried into effect due to the changes in the colonial department of the Dutch government subsequent to the transformation of the Batavian Republic into the Kingdom of Holland.

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1. Raffles to Court of Directors; November 3, 1824, Statement of Services, p. 10.

2. *Ibid.*

Java fell into British hands in 1811. The administration of Stamford Raffles in Java as lieutenant-governor (1811-1816), has given him a rank of honour in history as the greatest of English colonial governors of the day. The spirit of his work is remarkable for the acceptance of the new principle of trusteeship for backward races which was being advocated by a small group of reformers and humanitarians in England and which was subsequently put into force by Lord William Bentinck in his Indian administration. He entered into the task of reforming the administration of Java and improving the condition of the islanders with indefatigable zeal, and in a short time introduced innovations and reorganisations in the government which redound to the credit of the young lieutenant-governor.

The reforms of Raffles did not come into full operation before he left Java. He was greatly handicapped by the lack of a body of trained officials, by an insufficiency of funds essential for efficient administration, and lastly by the persistent strength of the old system which refused to give way in many localities. Still his plans were set going and it was along these lines that the future developments proceeded. Much of the old system was swept away. While retaining native administration, European control was extended. Essential reforms in the administration of justice were introduced, and the separate jurisdiction which had so far existed for "the special accommodation" of Dutch officials was abolished. It was part of the policy of Raffles to strengthen the ordinary local courts by extending the influence of European officials. But this was not possible and the work of dispensing with justice in the lower courts was left to native officials. The outstanding feature of the judicial reforms of Raffles was his desire for an equitable distribution of justice on humane principles. The practice of the former courts was revised and modified on the mild and just principles of the British system; trial by jury was introduced and a clear and simple code was compiled under the direction of Raffles containing rules for the different courts and instructions for their officers.

The basic principle of Raffles' revenue reforms was that the State was the sole proprietor of the soil and that government should, therefore, enter into direct contact with individual peasant proprietors. Previous to taking any step in the direction of an improved system of internal management, Raffles ordered a general survey to be made of nearly the whole island and detailed surveys of lands attached to each village and cultivators. Statistical enquiries were instituted and collected in every district "for the present use of the government and for historical reference". Raffles himself went everywhere to study personally and get a knowledge of local customs. He finally proposed the establishment of a perfect freedom in cultivation and trade, the abolition of all forced delivery of produce at inadequate rates, and of all feudal services, the assumption by the government of the immediate superintendence of lands with the revenues and rents thereof without the intervention of the regents whose office were, in future, to be confined to public duties only, and the renting out of lands so assumed in large or small estates according to local circumstances on leases for moderate terms.³

Thus Raffles was a pioneer in the attempt to substitute a regular system of taxation for the feudal levies and obligations. The result of the

³. Raffles could not do away with all feudal obligations at one stroke. He himself authorised the employment of forced labour in the teak forests, and forced deliveries were made of Preanger coffee. The old order of things, in many localities proved too strong for the new system.

change "equalled the highest expectation". Cultivation and commerce rapidly extended and the estimates of revenue returns showed a steady increase. In lieu of the contingents and arbitrary exactions of the Dutch, a fixed and permanent revenue was derived direct from the land and afforded the means of defraying the expenses of administration. "...The native population, chiefs, subordinates, and people with one accord hailed the new order of things as a boon conferred upon them by British philanthropy and entered on the enjoyment of its advantages with confidence and an improving industry"⁴.

Among other reforms of Raffles may be mentioned the abolition of the system of farming of export and import duties, the establishment of customs houses at Batavia, Semarang, and Surabaya under the control of the local Resident, and finally the withdrawal, from circulation, of the Dutch paper currency amounting to nearly nine million dollars. Political circumstances and the restrictions under which he worked, prevented him from abolishing the evils of slavery throughout the Dutch possessions.

The radical nature of the changes introduced by Raffles served to produce opposition from the conservative section in the government of Java led by Colonel Gillespie, who "poisoned the ears of the Marquess of Hastings" by "insinuations" against Raffles and placed him before the supreme government "as an individual unworthy of confidence, as one who had betrayed his trust and sacrificed the public interest to personal advantage"⁵. A long list of seventeen charges were drawn out by the governor-general involving an enquiry into all the measures of Raffles, which have "occasioned an excessive burthen on the Indian treasuries" and more particularly relating to the methods adopted in the disposal of government lands for the redemption of the depreciated paper currency. The measure as a financial expediency, was necessary to meet an emergent situation for relieving the pressure on the resources of the State and was approved by Lord Minto before his departure, but condemned by Colonel Gillespie as an attempt on the part of Raffles to turn the government lands to himself "at a lower price than (they) had been tendered from outside". In other words, Gillespie maintained that Raffles in controlling the purchase of the lands at the public sales, was "actuated by corrupt motives or guided by views of similar advantage" to himself.

Thus Raffles stood condemned in his character as lieutenant-governor, as far as his measures of internal policy were concerned, before the world as a servant who had lost the confidence of his superiors "with a character tainted by aspersions", to which the attitude of the supreme government "gave some appearance of credit".

It is difficult to arrive at any conclusive inferences as to the reasons for Gillespie's official move against Raffles. Colonel Gillespie's character as a military officer stood high with his colleagues and subordinates, and his services to the country were acknowledged with a sense of gratitude by his superior authorities. It will not be too incorrect to surmise that he had developed a feeling of resentment at the respect, power, and independence commanded by a young civilian officer in the capacity of lieutenant-governor. Colonel Gillespie "did not sit comfortably in his chair at the Council table. He differed from the Governor in his attitude to the

⁴Raffles to Court of Directors, November, 3, 1824; Statement of Services, p.

⁵*Ibid.*

Dutch. He resented the diminution of the British garrison against his advice, though Raffles was only obeying Lord Minto's orders. He figured in more than one dispute between the civil and military authorities"⁶. Raffles wrote to Lord Minto, "...I have a strange character to deal with; he prides himself on his quixotism, but with all his irregularities is a man of so high a stamp and caste that I must esteem⁷ him". Lord Minto, "to save Raffles from further annoyance" had transferred Gillespie to the Commander-in-Chief's staff in Bengal. With the supersession of Lord Minto, Gillespie laid his charges against Raffles before the supreme government at Calcutta.

It has to be admitted that the reforms of Raffles were too fast for the conservative temper of Colonel Gillespie. The charges must have originated from his honest conviction of Raffles' betrayal of a position of trust, rather than from any sense of petty jealousy against the growing confidence reposed in the young lieutenant-governor by Javanese and Malays alike. Gillespie "had not taken kindly to the sale of the public lands, though he had ultimately given his qualified assent in Council⁸". He disapproved the conduct of Raffles "in consenting to share with a leading Dutch resident and former Governor in the purchase of some land adjoining the latter's estate⁹". The act had, no doubt, been indiscreet; but Raffles had done it solely in the public interest in order to stimulate the sale. He had, in fact, forced up the bidding against his own pocket. Lord Minto was the only man who could have relieved the Court of Directors of their doubtful impressions of Raffles conduct. But Lord Minto's death on June 21, 1814, deprived Raffles of a powerful friend to whom he could have appealed with confidence against the charges and calumnies which were heaped upon him. The proceedings of the supreme government were transmitted to Raffles on January 15, 1814, and together with Raffles' reply and address of February 24, and March 25, 1814, were forwarded to the Court of Directors for information. It should be carefully noted that Raffles' subsequent succession to Beneoolen was made contingent upon his successfully refuting the charges against him.

It appears, from a perusal of Edmonstone's Minute that the supreme government approved of the explanations submitted by Raffles and admitted that the various measures introduced by him, "stand exempt from any sordid or selfish taint....they sprung from motives perfectly correct and laudable".

The decision of the Court of Directors is recorded in a Public Letter to Bengal under date February 13, 1817. The Directors were never able to prove the accusations. A scrupulous examination of all the documents "both accusatory and exculpatory", demonstrated to the Directors "the utter groundlessness of the charges" against Raffles and they declared as their decided conviction,

"...that in as far as they went to impeach the moral character of that gentleman, have not only not been made good but that they have been disproved to an extent which is seldom practicable in a case of defence.that he is entitled to all the advantages of this opinion and of an early and public expression of it".

⁶ Coupland, Reginald : *Raffles of Singapore*, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 46.

⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹ *Ibid*.

As to the expediency of the leading measures of the administration of Raffles, the Court was of opinion that,

“....the policy of these measures is not only separate from the motives which dictated them, but there are cogent reasons why they should be kept altogether distinct and separate on the present occasion”.

But before pronouncing a final judgment on the financial transactions of Raffles' government, the Directors were desirous

“Of fuller information and further time to deliberate on their tendency and effects, as well as the circumstances under which they were adopted.... were there unreasonableness, improvidence and inefficacy clearly established, this would only indicate error or defect of judgment or, at most incompetence in Mr Raffles for the high and, in many respects, exceedingly difficult situation he filled”.

Finally the Court believed,

“....that the measures of the Colonial government had occasioned an excessive burthen on the Indian treasuries and that the plans which had been adopted for the sale of the lands and a settlement of the land rental, besides other important local regulations as to the paper currency etc. were if not injudicious, at least prematurely introduced”.

If the accusations against the purity and propriety of Raffles' measures had been substantiated, they would have proved fatal to his character, and highly injurious, if not ruinous, to his future career. The reforms of Raffles might have been “injudicious” or “prematurely introduced”, but the principles of integrity, honesty, and straightforwardness which governed his public conduct cannot be challenged or doubted for a moment. The doubtful tenure of his administration in Java and the want of instructions for his guidance tended to render that administration “one of the most intricate and difficult governments that could have fallen to the lot of any person to direct¹⁰”. His policy of extending British influence outside Java, his expeditions against Palembang, Djokjakarta, and the warlike states in Celebes, though involving a large additional charge upon an exhausted treasury received “the unqualified approbation” of the supreme government. And when he suggested economies in the military department to cover the deficit of his administration (which amounted to a million and a half of rupees in the last year of his administration) he was opposed by Colonel Gillespie. It may be remarked that whatever may have been the expense incurred on account of Java, while under British rule, it appears from the Treasury Minute of May 26, 1822, that no question was raised by the home government as to the amount and that however large the outlay, the necessity of it was admitted by its immediate transfer to the public account. It may likewise be observed that on the restitution of Java to the Dutch, not a pensioner was thrown as a burden on the Company and the Dutch officials were not inclined to deprecate the administration of Raffles. On the contrary, his institution of a land revenue and the sale of lands were admitted to be wise and judicious and the system was later adopted by the Dutch government¹¹.

¹⁰. Raffles to Court, November, 3, 1824 ; Statement of Services, p. 27.

¹¹. Raffles' Memorial, August 1816 (Administration of Java).

The Gillespie charges sat heavily upon Raffles. His mental affliction was enhanced by the series of bereavements which occurred in his family about the same time. Some weeks after his arrival in Java his friend Dr John Leyden died ; three years later he lost his wife and in quick succession the children she had borne him. Java had not proved a lucky soil for Raffles. After his death, the India House basely charged his widow¹² to the extent of £22,000/- for various items covered in the expense of the administration of Raffles. Yet Raffles had made the name of England great on distant shores. His prophetic vision had foreseen the results of the restoration of the Dutch colonies in the archipelago and, despite the strong opposition of the home authorities, had stopped for all time the Dutch project of a *mare clausum* and had assured to England and the British Empire the control of one of the most important channels into the eastern seas and to the China trade. He was a bold, resolute, and impetuous statesman. Impetuosity may not be a mark of statesmanship, but in Raffles, case it meant redemption for the British Empire. In Java, also in Bencoolen, he had swept aside the medieval tradition of corrupt forms and instituted in their place the progressive and humane views of the early 19th century. A more enlightened administrator never governed in Java and Sumatra before. His actions were "marked with great intelligence and great zeal for the interests of his country ¹³".

¹². In 1817 Raffles married Sophia Hull, the daughter of an Irish land-owner. She accompanied her husband to Bencoolen.

¹³. Lord's Committee on Foreign Trade, March 6, 1821.

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According to *Guruparamparamrtam*¹, Ramachandra Tirtha was the 11th successor of Madhvacharya, the founder of the Dvaita school of Vaishnavism, and was the pontiff of the Phalimar monastery, one of the eight monasteries in or about Udipi (South Canara District, Madras). He brought into his fold a Sarasvata boy, by name Madhava, on the bright 2nd of Chaitra, Saka 1398 corresponding to the cyclic year Manmatha, (8-3-1475 A.D.) and renamed him Narayana Tirtha. This Narayana Tirtha was the founder of the Partagali monastery, whose archives are being considered here, and he was honoured with the title of "Vadera" by Siddanna Nayaka, a member of the royal family of Keladi and Bednur. Originally the monastery was not at Partagali but was located at Bhatkal (Karwar District, Bombay). It received from time to time donations of lands and villages and also gifts in cash as well as in kind from the residents of various places. The need for ministering to the spiritual requirements of an increasing number of disciples led to the founding of subordinate monasteries, particularly at places sanctified by the *samadhis* or cremation memorials of earlier pontiffs. They were located at Gokarna, Honnavara, Ankole and Venkatapura in the Karwar District of the Bombay State, and at Dicholi, Rivana and Partagali in the Portuguese territory of Goa. In course of time the principal seat of the monastery was shifted from Bhatkal to Gokarna, and again, at a later date, to Partagali, and the monastery is generally known as the Gokarna Matha or the Partagali Matha at present.

A succession list of the pontiffs of this monastery is given below :

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| (16) Lakshminatha | (22) Dvarakanatha (the present pontiff). |

All these pontiffs except the first four are referred to in the records belonging to the Archives of this monastery and these are of great help in fixing the periods during which they lived. It is of interest to note that Samyamindra Tirtha, a disciple of the 8th pontiff Raghuchandra, founded a monastery at Banaras, which is known as the Kasi-Matha.

The records of the Partagali monastery can be conveniently grouped under four heads *viz.*, (1) Copper-plates or their copies on paper ; (2) Persian documents ; (3) Marathi documents either bilingual (Perso-Marathi) or in Modi or Kannada scripts ; and (4) Kannada documents in Kannada script. I have so far been able to examine 2 copper plates (C.P.), 40 Persian documents (P), 118 Perso-Marathi and Marathi documents in Modi script (PM & M), 27 Marathi documents in Kannada script (MK) and 133 Kannada documents in Kannada script (K). Copper-plates do not usually come within the purview of the Indian Historical Records Commission; but the plates in this particular case belong to a period in which the Commission is interested and I propose to deal with them here along with others. Of these documents, the copper-plates, and the Persian, Marathi and some of the Kannada documents are original, as they bear not only seals and signets but endorsements in different hands. Some of the Marathi-Kannada and Kannada documents are evidently copies, as they are written in the same hand and do not bear seals, signets or endorsements. Some of the Kannada documents issued by private persons, though they do not bear either seals or signets, must be regarded as original as the persons issuing these documents could not use seals, having no authority to do so.

The copper-plates, the Persian *farmans*, the Marathi *Khurdakhats* or *misals* and some of the Kannada documents recording grants always give the full dates on which they were written or executed. The reckonings used are one or more of the following : *Saka*, *Shuhur*, *Hijra*, *Fasli* and cyclic. The months and days of issue are indicated in each case. In a majority of cases, the current instead of the expired *Saka* years are given, when mentioned in conjunction with cyclic years. A number of Kannada documents are defectively dated like most of their forerunners, *viz.*, Kannada stone inscriptions of the Vijayanagar period. They mention only the name of a year from the Hindu sexagesimal cycle without referring to the corresponding date in any other era. In such cases there is often the risk of antedating or post-dating a document at least by sixty years. There are also a few documents, especially Persian letters, which as usual do not give any date in the body of the texts ; as their covers, which generally bear the date of receipt, are lost, they can be ascribed only approximate dates.

Among these records there are *farmans*, *khurdakhats*, *misals*, *rajapatras*, private deeds of donations, lists of movable properties, permits, requests, preceptorial orders to disciples, followers and the general public, and a variety of other documents. Diplomatic correspondence is conspicuous by its absence. There are references in them to Krishna Devarasa Vadera surnamed Saluva ; Siddanna Nayaka, Sivappa Nayaka, Channammaji, Virammaji and other

members of the royal family of Keladi; Sambhaji, son of Sivaji the Great and his ministers and several Maratha and Muhammadan officers and a number of private persons.

The earliest document in the Archives of the monastery (K. 50), which I have come across is dated Monday, the dark 5th of Ashadha of Saka 1472 (current), the cyclic year Saumya (15-7-1549 A.D.) and the gist of it is as follows :—

Narasa Keni, the son of Santa Keni, a resident of the town Lotali, included in the Goa Province, wished to conduct an *annasatra* (a charitable inn) near the Mahabalesvara temple of Gokarna and also provide for the conduct of prayers and worship at the Lakshmi-Narayana temple of Bhatkal. To meet the expenses, he acquired the village Hegare from a tributary prince, Saluva Krishnadevarasa Vadera, on payment of its price to the latter as a *Kanika* (*nazr*), and made a gift of it to this monastery.

Another document (K 18) dated the dark 5th of Jyeshtha of Saka 1473 (current), the cyclic year Sadharana (4-6-1550 A. D.) throws further light on the history of the *Matha*. It states that Saluva Krishnadevarasa Vadera referred to above acquired a *matha* situated to the south of the Kotitirtha of Gokarna from one Narasimha Pandita, who himself had formerly acquired it from one Brahmananda Bharati, the disciple of Govinda Bharati, and gave it to the above-mentioned Narasa Keni, the son of Santa Keni.

The next interesting record that we have on the subject is a Marathi document (M 2) and (M 13) dated the 10th of Rabi I, Shuhur year 1067 (31-8-1666 A.D.), containing an order issued by the Commander of the fort Minaje (Karwar District, Bombay) to the villagers and village-officers of the village Hegare and the purport of it is as follows :—

Narasa Keni, son of Narasa Keni, a merchant of Bhatkal, represented that his forefathers, during the regime of the Karnataka (Vijayanagar) kings, erected a monastery at Gokarna and donated the village Hegare to it in the name of the 3rd pontiff Jivottama Vadera for conducting an *annasatra* there. He complained that Vadiraja Vadera, the recluse of Saudi (a monastery in Dharwar), by misrepresentation to Murari Pandita (*Karbhari* or head-clerk to the Adilshahi minister, Khawas Khan), had appropriated the village to his own monastery, and that in spite of a *farman* being secured for the restitution of the village to the monastery at Gokarna, he in concert with a former officer Murtaza Beg, was still in forcible occupation of the village, and he appealed to the officer to be quite upright in giving his decision and to hand over the village to the rightful owner. The officer thereupon directed the agents of both the parties to furnish evidence in support of their respective claims. The agents of the Gokarna *Matha* produced the necessary evidence, but those of the Saudi *Matha* could neither furnish reliable documentary evidence nor produce any witnesses although sufficient time was allowed. The possession of the disputed village was, therefore, given to the Gokarna *Matha* in accordance with the *farman*.

The disputed village Hegare appears to have changed hands quite often. There are in the archives Adilshahi *farmans*, *khurdakhats* and *misals* of earlier dates (P 1, P 11, P 13) which order that the possession of the village

should be given to the pontiff Vadiraja Vadera of the Saudi *Matha* ; but later documents of the same type explicitly mention that the possession of the village should go to the pontiff Ramchandra Tirtha of the Gokarna *Matha*, and that Vadiraja had gained possession of it earlier by misrepresenting the facts of the case (P 3 to P 6, P 8 to P 10). This quarrel between the pontiffs of the two rival monasteries for the ownership of a village was not creditable to either of them ; it may, however, be observed that the pontiff of the Gokarna or Partagali monastery appeared to be always on the defensive. At a later period the pontiff of the Udipi monastery brought about a reconciliation by his mediation and by bringing the pressure of public opinion to bear on the parties and Visvandya Tirtha of the Saudi monastery finally resigned the village to Ramchandra Tirtha of the Partagali monastery (K 51, K 52, K 119, K 120, K 86).

These papers do not throw any new light on political event, but they do contain information often interesting from the point of view of social history. M 38 which is bilingual and which is dated the 1st of Rajab Shuhur year 1035 (12-12-1634 A.D.) is an order to the Bhatas (Dravida Brahmans) of Gokarna asking them not to molest the pontiff Jivottama Vadera and his followers (Sarasvata Brahmans) when they repaired to the sea-shore for bathing and recited holy songs with music etc. Again, there is an order (P. 7) issued to an officer Balaji Haibata Rao dated the 28th of Muharrum 1055 A.H. (17-3-1645 A.D.) directing him to prevent Joshis (hereditary village astrologers), Bhatas (Dravida Brahmans) and others from obstructing Ramchandra Tirtha Vadera and his followers in the due performance of religious observances and social functions. The order also mentions that Sivappa Nayaka, the ruler of Keladi (1645-62 A.D.) had been instructed to the same effect and that he should contact the Nayaka in the matter. These are two examples of the type of rivalry that existed between the two Brahman sects. Another document K 131, which is defectively dated, refers to hooligans regularly troubling a pontiff of the monastery while repairing to the sea-shore for bath. K 75 contains a decision of the Canara district court dated 10-8-1810 A.D. against some Lingayats of Siddapur (Karwar District, Bombay) who were charged with blocking the way of the then pontiff Lakshminatha Tirtha by piling up cattle-bones etc.

M 30 and M 40 which are dated the 13th and 20th of Jumada the II, Shuhur year 1061 respectively (3-2-1661 A.D. and 10-2-1661 A.D.) contain orders to the headmen of Vilanai and other villages included in the divisions Sivesvara and Khedanur and Bhatas and Brahmans of the latter division asking them to purify Gajeparbhu and twelve members of his family who had been ex-communicated for some crime of his speech.

M 51 and M 57 are practically identical and bear the date the 11th of Zul-hijja, Shuhur year 1028 and Hijra 1037 (13-8-1627 A.D.). M 51 is a copy of a Persian *farman* written in Modi script with corrupt transliteration of Persian words owing to which the meaning has become obscure in many places. But M 57 helps to clarify the doubts. The purport of the documents is as follows :—

Pola Nayaka, a merchant of the port Adilabad represented that certain Brahmans who originally belonged to Sasati and Antruj and settled in the said port and certain other divisions such as Bhatagrama, Satari, Ankole, the fort Mirjan etc. had accepted Jivottama Tirtha as their preceptor, and had in his presence, consented, by an agreement with proper endorsements, to act

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M 30 and M 40 which are dated the 13th and 20th of Jumada the II, Shuhur year 1061 respectively (3-2-1661 A.D. and 10-2-1661 A.D.) contain orders to the headmen of Vilanai and other villages included in the divisions Sivesvara and Khedanur and Bhatas and Brahmans of the latter division asking them to purify Gajeparbhu and twelve members of his family who had been ex-communicated for some crime of his speech.

M 51 and M 57 are practically identical and bear the date the 11th of Zul-hijja, Shuhur year 1028 and Hijra 1037 (13-8-1627 A.D.). M 51 is a copy of a Persian *farman* written in Modi script with corrupt transliteration of Persian words owing to which the meaning has become obscure in many places. But M 57 helps to clarify the doubts. The purport of the documents is as follows :—

Pola Nayaka, a merchant of the port Adilabad represented that certain Brahmans who originally belonged to Sasati and Antruj and settled in the said port and certain other divisions such as Bhatagrama, Satari, Ankole, the fort Mirjan etc. had accepted Jivottama Tirtha as their preceptor, and had in his presence, consented, by an agreement with proper endorsements, to act

according to ancient customs, and a *misal*, a *farman* and a *mah-zar* had been issued in pursuance of the agreement. He complained that Jivottama Tirtha had been summoned to the headquarters from the village Pariyel and was arrested and imprisoned on the charge that he prescribed *prayaschitta* without the previous consent of the local officers and that the above documents had been snatched away. Owing to this high-handed act of the local officers he observed that the merchants of the port and of the village Pariyel had become perturbed and the collection of Government revenues was adversely affected. The *farman* was, therefore, issued to the officers of the *muamila* of Goa ordering the release of Jivottama Tirtha and the return of the documents and other articles taken away at the time of effecting his arrest. The officers were also directed to show the pontiff the utmost respect and he was to be allowed to enforce the sacerdotal laws and customs of his group and to prescribe *prayaschitta*, after taking the usual Government fees, especially to those that had maintained social relations with Sukada Pai and Ravala Senavi although they had been ex-communicated. Pola Nayaka and the merchants, on whose representation the *farman* was being issued, were to be reassured.

There is a third document (M 12) which is defectively dated as the 1st of Jumada I, but which belongs to the same period as, or a little earlier than, the foregoing one. It is an order addressed by Malik Ambar *Silahdar*, the special officer of the port Adilabad, to the pontiff Jivottama Tirtha. As a representation from the *Bhangasalis*⁴ of the port Adilabad had been received, the pontiff was required by the officer to purify those that had contacts with Sukada Pai of Verne and Ravala Senavi of Lotali, who were ex-communicated for not abiding by the agreement consented to by the members of the Senavi caste. There are two more documents, M21 and P 34, which are dated the 12th of Shaban, Shuhur year 1039 (8-12-1638 of A.D.) and Shuhur year 1039 (1638-39 A.D.) respectively and are addressed to the village officers and other officers of sundry possessions and those of the *muamila* of Goa and of the recent acquisitions from the *Pargana* of Ankole. By this order Ramachandra Tirtha Vadera, the successor of Jivottama Tirtha, was allowed to propagate the age-old religion among his castemen and to punish those that acted against his commands and the officers were asked to help the pontiff in controlling his castemen, and also to pay him due respect.

As the pontiffs remained quite aloof from politics, both the Muhammadan and Maratha rulers and their subordinates treated them with respect and saw that they invariably received good treatment. M 67, M 21, P 34, P 7, M 15, and others testify to the above statements. MK 10 and MK 9 are letters of request addressed to the pontiff Lakshminarayana Vadera by the Maratha ruler Sambhaji and his minister Prahlada Niraji cordially inviting him to visit the Maratha dominion and preach to his followers there.

M 81 and M 82 is a long document giving the list of Bijapuri commanders and their subordinates who succeeded to the command of the *muamila* of Goa after the acquisition and addition of the *parganas* of Ankole, Minaje and Kadwad (Karwar) in 1594 A.D. i.e., during the reign of Ibrahim Adil-shah II.

⁴ A class of sea-traders,

In the end I should like to refer to a copper-plate grant from the Archives. It consists of two plates tied together by means of a circular ring passing through the holes made on them for the purpose. The writing extends over 54 lines. It is dated Monday, the bright 15th of Asvina, Saka year 1583 (current), the cyclic year Sarvari and the solar eclipse (8-10-1660 A.D.) On this occasion Venkatappa Nayaka, the son of Siddappa Nayaka, the grandson of Sankanna Nayaka and the great grandson of Sadasiva Nayaka (all of Keladi) a propounder of the Advaita school and a devotee of Siva, made a gift of land for the worship of Venkatesvara installed by Ganapati-malla in the village Donidore which lay within the boundaries of the Battakala (Bhatkal) division. The land was in the same village as the temple and the produce amounted to 50 *gadyanas* and 2 *panas*. The worship of the God Venkatesvara and the upkeep of his temple must have been entrusted to a representative of this monastery at Bhatkal as the plates are lying in the archives of the monastery for a long time.

THE PANJABI AKHBAR

By K. Sajan Lal

THE publication of 'The Panjabi Akhbar', a high class Urdu weekly was started in 1864. It was published in the Panjabi Press, Lahore, by Munshi Md. Azim who was its Editor and Proprietor. For some time Munshi Shamsuddin was its Editor.¹ This journal was published on Saturdays. It consisted of 13 pages of quarto size from 1864-1872 and during 1873 and 1874 each issue consisted of 16 pages.

Each page was divided into three columns but when lengthy *qasidas* were published, a few pages were divided into six columns.

The Title covers nearly 1/3 of the space of the Title page, decorated with a floral design. Within this floral design written the title, "The Panjabi", in large letters in English. Just below this title in small English letters arranged in a semi-circle written the sub-title, "A Weekly Journal of News, Politics and Literature". Underneath it is the crest of the paper. Below the crest, in large type the name appears in Urdu forming the base of the semi-circle.

The rest of the title page is divided into three columns wherein the advertisements of Dr. E. J. Lazarus "Essence of Neem", and Holloways Ointment appear regularly.

The following is a brief description of some of the important features of some of the issues of this journal in my possession.

The names of calligraphists employed by the press appear on each sheet. They are Karim Baksh, Nabi Baksh Imamuddin, Wali Beg, Shahabu, Haji Khan and Alauddin.

The paper, though not neglecting political questions, gave some special attention to social, religious, and literary topics and was instrumental in conveying to the Indian public in plain and simple manner practically all the ideas symbolised by western education. At the same time it maintained a high literary standard.

The articles on socio-religious topics deserve careful reading as they bring home the new changes creeping in society and literature.

The editor worked successfully for the new movement, imbibing the literary ideals of the West and tried to awaken the people to the fact that all was not well with the Urdu prose and poetry. He boldly expressed that anything artificial and insincere in the old literature should be assiduously avoided. He gave full publicity to articles describing the defects of the old literature; for instance, Kishan Lal of Rawalpindi contributed an article, "What is wrong with our Urdu poetry".² Another article by Saiful Haq deals with, "The Importance of Discussion and Debates." Another article describes in detail the Urdu-Hindi controversy.

Mr. K. Sajan Lal, F. R. S. A., has distinguished himself by his original research on topics connected with the history of Indian periodicals. He has collected the files of a number of important periodicals of the early 19th century.

¹Garcin de Tassy: *Lectures*, (Cours d'Hindoustanie—Urdu et Hindoni—Discours de ouverture, Paris, 1865), *vide Urdu*, July 1939, p. 490.

²The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 15th July, 1873.

There is a good deal of correspondence and articles, on the Urdu-Hindi controversy. Sir George Cambell's interest in Hindi—the *Akhbarul Akhbar* (Behar) adopting the Hindi expressions and Devanagari script—the anti-Hindi meeting at Allahabad—its proceedings—attacks on Raja Siva Prashad etc. were given full publicity³.

The editor himself expressed his views on the literary merits of some of his colleagues in profession, wherein he stressed on the unity of ideas, freedom in expression and diction free from convention. He advised his colleagues to use correct simple expressions pure and chaste ideas and to avoid exaggerations and ornate and flowery style.

He said that it was the duty of the editor to educate the people and get their grievances redressed. In order to know the grievances of the people he should mix freely with them and find out their likes and dislikes and through the medium of his paper ventilate their ideas and grievances without exaggeration. The paper specially emphasized that biased attitude of the editors was neither healthy for the press nor good for the people. It also added that the knowledge of Sciences and Arts was of very great use to the editors⁴.

In one of its issues there is an article on the titles conferred upon the people by the Native State Rulers. The writer describes the vagaries and silliness of these titles. He feels that it was time that these titles were abolished. He quotes a number of such titles and shows how ridiculous they appeared to the world outside India.

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh used to confer these empty but high sounding titles. Even a *baghban* or a mali (Gardener) was called *Gulban-ud-daulah*, while another menial a bawarehi (cook) was given the title of *Namkin-ud-daulah*. The writer further says that if titles are to be conferred upon the people for distinguished services, the princes should follow the British system as their model⁵.

These titles used as prefixes and suffixes to the names of the persons thus honoured, are proving a headache to the postal authorities.

Views and reviews on Indian publications and problems though lengthy deserve attention.

The absence of publicity of the time-table, fares and freights of the Punjab Railway caused great inconvenience to the people specially to the merchants. The editor in his lengthy note suggested to the railway authorities that the rules and regulations published in English were not of much use. He suggested that these rules should be published in Hindi and Urdu and posted at market centres and other important public places. He even gave the names of trading centres of Lahore. He further said that these time-tables should be published in all the local newspapers, not once or twice but more frequently so that the people could get the necessary information whenever they required it.

It is pleasing to note that many of his suggestions were accepted by the Railway authorities and the editor thanked them and made a few more suggestions.

³The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 1st January 1874. Read, my paper on 'Raja Shev Prashad' contributed to the *Journal of Social Studies*.

⁴The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 9th May 1873.

⁵The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 25th January 1873.

The time table of "The Sindh Panjab and Delhi Railway" which was to come in force from 1st January 1874 was published in one of these issues under the name of David Ross, Traffic Manager, dated 20th December⁶ 1873.

Mr. Azim the editor, owner and proprietor of this paper also published a bi-weekly Arabic Newspaper called "*An-nafa-ul-Azim*". This paper was always advertised in the issues of the Panjabi. Perhaps it was the first Arabic newspaper in India⁷.

The *Tib-i-Rahimi*, a book on medicine, published in 1873 by Dr. Rahim Khan, an Assistant Surgeon, was reviewed in this paper. It is interesting to note that Dr. Rahim was a personal physician to the Maharaja of Kapurthala. He was also a member of the Panjab Text Book Committee⁸.

The work of Saiyid Ahmad Khan, his tour in the Panjab, his lectures, meetings, donations were given full publicity. Similarly the meetings of the Madrasa-i-Islamia of Amritsar, the donations received by it found publicity in this weekly.

The educational progress of the Mysore State for the year 1873-74 provides interesting facts and figures⁹.

Total number of schools of various types	2,250
Government Schools	659
Aided Schools	98
Un-aided Schools	1,493
Number of students in Government Schools	26,248
Number of students in Un-aided Schools	18,094
Total number of Boys in Government Schools	41,075
Total number of Girls in Government Schools	2,599
Income for the year including School Fees of Rs. 71,818 comes to Rs. 2,36,300.	
Expenditure comes to Rs. 2,29,375.	

This paper kept its readers well informed of what was happening in the native States.

Jaipur.—Mumtaz-ud-daulah Nawab Faiz Ali Khan, Madar-ul-Mahamm of Jaipur State retired. Thakur Fateh Singh succeeded him¹⁰.

The editor voicing the feelings of the Patiala correspondent says that knowing the condition of administration through his correspondent, he feels that such high appointments should be based on high qualifications. "Beware", says the editor, "of what has happened in Baroda".

The resignation of Pundit Phulman, Minister of Bikanir State is announced. The Maharaja presented him Khilat and jewels (its details appear). He ordered his staff to accompany the retiring minister to his palace.

Another report informs that Thakore Lalji Shiv has raised the banner of revolt. He has been harassing the villagers—action on him is awaited.

⁶The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 27th December, 1873.

⁷Garcin de Tassy wrongly calls it *An-nafa-ul-Azam*, vide *Urdu*, July 1939, p. 490 (Foot note).

⁸The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 17th January 1874.

⁹The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 17th January 1874. Note that the totals are incorrect.

¹⁰Faiz Ali Khan later became the member of the Baroda Inquiry Commission, vide Thornton's "General Sir Richard Meade" p. 163.

Jodhpur.—The death of Thakur Omid Karanji is announced. The paper says that the late Thakurji Sahib was so much attached to the late Maharaja of Jodhpur that, since the death of his beloved master, he discarded all the evil habits of drinking, meat-eating and dressing gaudily. The present ruler was thinking of awarding some jagirs to his sons.

The work of the *Faujdari-Adalat* slackened since Maharaja Kishore Singh Faujdar stopped attending it.

There are no complaints against the Kotwal's administration which means that he was maintaining a high standard of efficiency. Due to the misbehaviour of Lassu Pahlwan (wrestler) towards the Maharaja, 8 pahlwans were suspended. The Maharaja was expected to meet some Englishmen somewhere near Bhopal.

Gwalior.—The Maharaja Sindhia while celebrating his marriage spent 2 lakhs of rupees on various customs. The editor asks, "Will the reformers of our country call it extravagant" ?

Baroda.—There is a scathing attack on the Baroda Ministers and their administration most of whom were not suitable to hold responsible posts. 'Do the ministers know why there should be Inquiry Commission' remarks the correspondent.

There are all kinds of reports against the inefficiency of the ministers, and a lengthy report was written by a Rajput. "As the work of the Inquiry Commission is completed, the members will leave Baroda by the 26th December 1873," informs the correspondent.

Nana Saheb Khanvelkar, the Prime Minister of the State gave a grand banquet to all the Englishmen serving in the State. This dinner party cost 1½ lakhs of rupees to the treasury.

Amritsar.—In this week the Maharaja Mohan Singh (brother of Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir) the Ruler of Punjab arrived here. He was pleased with the sanitary arrangements of the City. He paid his respects to the *Durbar Saheb*. After staying here for two or three days he is expected to go on pilgrimage to Hardwarji.

Amritsar is in the grip of small-pox epidemic which is raging here, says the correspondent. Apart from religious sentiments against vaccination, the arrangements made by the Government do not encourage people to offer their non-cooperation. As the doctor cannot give vaccination unless 200 to 300 persons assemble, men and women and children have to stand for 3 or 4 hours to get themselves vaccinated. "Is this the way to seek cooperation of the people" asks the correspondent.

The Lt. Governor's visit to Bhawalpur from the 24th December to the 4th January 1874 appears in detail.

News of Afghanistan, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Ferozpur, Joara etc. are given. News of foreign countries, European as well as Asiatic are given due prominence.

The prices of grains in various markets quoted on the 8th January 1874 will surely interest the readers¹¹.

¹¹The *Panjabi Akhbar*, 17th January 1874.

Bhagalpur:—

Old Rice	Per Rupee	11½ seers
New Rice	Do.	14½ seers
Wheat	Do.	13½ seers
Bajra	Do.	18½ seers

Rajmahal:—

Class One Rice	Per Rupee	10 seers
Class Two Rice	Do.	11 seers
Wheat	Do.	11½ seers
Pulses	Do.	17 seers

Sahibganj :—

Class One Rice	Per Rupee	13 seers
Class Two Rice	Do.	13½ seers
Wheat	Do.	13½ seers
Pulses	Do.	17 seers

Lucknow :—

Rice	Per Rupee	9½ Seers
Wheat	Do.	13½ Seers
Barley	Do.	18½ Seers
Jawar	Do.	20 Seers
Bajra	Do.	18½ Seers

Hardoi :—

Wheat	Per Rupee	13½ Seers
Barley	Do.	20½ Seers
Rice	Do.	13 Seers
Jawar	Do.	21 Seers
Bajra	Do.	20½ Seers

Faizabad :—

Wheat	Per Rupee	13½ Seers
Barley	Do.	17½ Seers
Rice	Do.	11½ Seers
Jawar	Do.	18 Seers
Bajra	Do	16½ Seers

Gonda :—

Wheat	Per Rupee	12½ Seers
Barley	Do.	14½ Seers
Rice	Do.	11½ Seers
Jawar	Do.	17½ Seers

I close the paper with a short note on Munshi Md. Azim, the proprietor-editor.

He entered the Delhi College for education when Mr. Taylor was its principal. By dint of hard work he obtained a general proficiency prize in 1830, when he was just about 21 years old. Then he left the College and joined the *Delhi Gazette Press* as a compositor and later became its printer. After gaining practical experience he established his own printing press in Delhi. In 1849 he left for Lahore where he started the *Lahore Chronicle*.

In 1856 he started the *Panjabi*, an English tri-weekly paper and rendered a great service to the British Government. When the English paper collapsed, he started the Urdu *Panjabi* and then the Arabic bi-weekly. He was held in high esteem by Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, Sir Richard Temple and Sir Robert Montgomery, who conferred upon him a *khilat* in 1864. He attended the Delhi Durbar when Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of India. He died in 1885. The paper, however, continued for about five years after his death. Sir Charles Aitchison Lt. Governor paid the following befitting tribute to his memory:

“ His career as a Journalist extended over a long period of 40 years. He established the *Lahore Chronicle* in the year 1849 and at a later date the Urdu *Panjabi*, the earliest vernacular newspaper. His enterprize as the pioneer of the Press in the Panjab and his intelligent appreciation of the objects and motives of the Government won for him the respect of eminent men connected with the Province.¹²”

Similar tributes were paid to him by Sir Lepal Griffin.

¹², Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore : Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities* (1892), pp. 342-43.

COLONEL BAIRD AT TIRUPPARANKUNRAM

By T.V. Mahalingam

DURING the closing years of the reign of Muhammad Ali Walajah I, the Nawab of the Carnatic, his son Nasirul-Mulk was ruling over the Madhurai country as the representative of his father. He was assisted in the administration of the area among others by Mutasaddi (Dewan?)¹ Gopal Rao and Abdul Qadir who was the renter (Peshkar) of the place. Between the 10th and 15th of March 1793, some interesting incidents took place at Tirupparankunram and Madhurai consequent on the encampment of Colonel Baird at the former place along with his detachment of 700 soldiers and his forced opening of the temple gate in order to house his soldiers, resulting in the religious martyrdom of some Hindus.

On account of the political unrest and trouble in the far south during the period, Colonel Baird who was then at Trichinopoly was asked to march to Tirupparankunram with his detachment and stay on there for some time. Colonel Baird marched to Tirupparankunram and halted with his soldiers in the Subrahmanya temple at the place on the 10th of March, when the "ceremony" of the temple was in progress. The people who had assembled in large numbers for it objected to the high-handed action of Colonel Baird. The Brahmans and Pandarams² ascended the *gopuram* of the temple and threatened to throw themselves from its top and sacrifice their lives if the Colonel persisted in quartering his troops in the temple. On receipt of the information Mutasaddi Gopal Rao waited upon the Colonel and explained him the point of view of the Hindus regarding stationing the troops in the temple. After some altercation the Colonel told Gopal Rao that although he "was not at liberty to allow a single day's respite, still for the satisfaction of the Sarkar's people he would give the Brahmans five days in which time they would finish their ceremonies", and desired that the Brahmans should descend from the tower before the evening and he himself should be informed of it.

When Gopal Rao returned to the fort subsequently, he sent for Abdul Qadir the Peshkar and communicated to him the Colonel's desire. The renter however feared that the ceremonies could not be finished in the space of five days. In the meanwhile four European officers who had halted before the temple tried to get forced entry into it by breaking its gates as a protest against which, some Pandarams attempted to cut their own throats, while others climbed up the temple tower with the intention of

Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, M. A., D. Litt, is a Reader in Indian History and Archaeology of the University of Madras. The above article is his first contribution to the Indian Historical Records Commission.

¹Though Gopal Rao is referred to as Mutasaddi in the English records mentioned by the author, in the Tamil inscription at the Subrahmanya temple, Tirupparankunram, he (Gopal Rao) is described as Diwan (Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions by J. Burgess & S. M. Natesa Sastri, Madras 1886, p. 41)—Secretary.

²According to Hobson Jobson by Col. Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell *Pandaram* is "a Hindu Ascetic mendicant of the (so-called) Shudra or even lower caste"—Secretary.

throwing themselves down. News of such developments reached Gopal Rao and Abdul Qadir when they were talking about the matter and the latter felt that such a high handed action was unprecedented, and feared the cessation of all normal activities in the country and the beginning of unrest.

The Mutasaddi sent the Sarkar's *Dubash* to Colonel Baird to inform him that he had explained matters to the people. The Colonel who was 'determined on bringing the troops into the pagoda and would not give it up' wanted Gopal Rao to see him. Considering it a good opportunity, the Mutasaddi waited on the Colonel along with the Peshkar and his son-in-law and explained to him the position. The Colonel said that 'he had 700 soldiers with him, that the chaultries around the pagoda would be just sufficient for the officers, that 300 of the soldiers would be quartered in the chaultry fronting the gate of the pagoda, and the remainder—200 men who were sick, must have a separate place, and unless the gates of the pagoda were opened so that he might have the chaultry inside it, there was no other place to lodge the sick men and that he had the governor's orders for lodging the troops in the pagoda'. Gopal Rao warned the Colonel that his action would result in the rebellion of the people and loss in the *kist* of the Sarkar and that the Pandarams would sacrifice their lives. The Colonel replied however that if he did not get the chaultry within the temple "the king's soldiers would perish in the heat of the sun"; that this was a greater consideration with him than any inconveniences that the Hindoos might suffer, and that the sircar likewise would not allow the soldiers to be put to hardships, and that therefore he would give orders for opening the gate. Gopal Rao assured the Colonel that the people would be agreeable to his occupying the chaultries outside the temple but never inside it and warned him once again that, if he persisted, there would be general unrest in the country and a consequent fall in the *kist* of the Sarkar. Besides the people would "lay their complaints before the presence at Madras". He further said that on an earlier occasion Colonel Bruce by order of the Governor lodged about 500 soldiers in the temple at Wallajahbad as a result of which the Hindus closed their shops and complained about it to the Nawab of the Carnatic. He took the matter to the Governor of Madras who immediately directed the Commanding Officer at Trichinopoly to remove the soldiers from the temple and station them in some other place. After considering the whole position for some time Colonel Baird said that he remembered Colonel Braithwaite having on a former occasion lodged his people in the chaultry under consideration, and he would also do the same after ascertaining from him about it; but if Colonel Braithwaite has not done so he would write to the Company that barracks must be built for the reception of the troops. The Colonel desired Gopal Rao to enquire of the inhabitants of Madhurai and the neighbourhood about the lodging of the troops by Colonel Braithwaite in the chaultry within the temple and inform him about it to which the Mutasaddi agreed. The Colonel asked Gopal Rao to appoint a person on behalf of the Sarkar to clear out the chaultries in which the troops were formerly quartered besides a few other places. The Peshkar and his son-in-law were appointed for the purpose and the Colonel sent one of his officers to see the places on his behalf and report to him about them. The Peshkar and his son-in-law Abdul Qadir pointed out 35 chaultries besides the large one in front of the temple and five of the Pandarams' *mutts* numbering altogether 40 chaultries and delivered them to the Colonel.³

³, Military correspondence Vol. 44 A. Letter No. 59 of 1793.

The next day the scene of action shifted to Madhurai where the Brahmans and Pandarams of the Minakshi temple on receipt of information about the incidents in the temple at Tirupparankunram (Sikandar banda) closed the gates of their temple, and went up to the top of their tower blowing all the while their conch shells. Gopal Rao on hearing about it explained to them through the Peshkar Abdul Qadir, the Persian writer Venkat Rao and another one as to what had transpired the previous day between himself and Colonel Baird. It was reported to them that the Colonel had agreed to station his soldiers in the chaultries in which they had halted previously, and therefore it was expedient that they should get down from the temple tower and open the gates. But they represented to Gopal Rao that even when the troops had encamped at the place on one or two earlier occasions for a week or ten days the ceremonies were stopped in the temple, but now when they had come there with the intention of remaining at the place for five years and had occupied the chaultries and charity houses around the temple they did not know what would happen. Gopal Rao next sent word to them that no useful purpose would be served by their making such disturbance and suggested that all those that belonged to the temple might give him in writing 'a state of circumstances that I might transmit the same to the presence, and the business would be settled'. Accordingly, he caused them to write a *cajan* to the Brahmans of the Sikandarbanda temple desiring them to descend from the tower.⁴

But all this persuasion of Gopal Rao and others did not have much effect on the people both at Tirupparankunram and Madhurai on account of the high handedness of Colonel Baird and his troops. On the morning of the 14th of the month matters reached a climax, when in spite of the fact that people had assembled in such large numbers, Colonel Baird sent a guard of soldiers to clear out the chaultry within the temple at Tirupparankunram. "The Brahmans and Pandarams making a clamour, the soldiers first began to beat them with the butts of their fire-locks and afterwards gave everyman four or five wounds with their bayonets. Then taking hatchets in their hands they set about to break open the gates of Secundarbanda. Immediately on the noise at the bottom a Pandaram threw himself from the steeple of the said pagoda and sacrificed his life; when this news reached the people belonging to the pagoda of Meenatchee some of them went up the steeple, and began to beat their tom toms etc., louder than before and according to their custom, sent people and caused the bazaar of the town to be shut up, and having assembled the parayars without the fort they despatched *kazhan* letters to the several parts of the talookas to assemble the people". Therefore by order of the Colonel the Major confined the people who were responsible for the closing of the shops⁵.

Gopal Rao from time to time sent reports in writing to Nasir-ul-Mulk at Madhurai who sent them all to the Nawab of the Carnatic. While sending the Nawab the last of Mutasaddi's letters Nasirul-Mulk wrote to his father that on receiving information of the incidents those in the temples of Srirangam and Jambukesvaram had decided to close them and assemble the country people and said: "if orders to Colonel Baird from the Governor and Council arrived in time the fire of disturbance will be extinguished. Otherwise the talookas will be plundered by the colories".⁶

⁴ Military Correspondence Vol 44A, No. 59. of 1793

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 59.

⁶ Nasir-ul-Mulk's letter to Muhammad Ali dated 15th March, 1793, *Ibid* No. 5

When Nawab Muhammad Ali received such letters from Nasir-ul-Mulk at Madhurai about the unhappy incidents at Tirupparankunram described above, he sent all of them to Sir Charles Oakeley Bart, Governor of Madras, on the 21st of March with a covering letter in which he wrote that formerly when the Governor and Council sent any officer to command troops in any part of his country they made the appointment with his approval. Referring to the incidents at Tirupparankunram he said: "I therefore now trouble you with a request that you will immediately send positive orders to Colonel Baird not to injure the ryots and give up the intention of taking possession of the pagoda; and that even you will recall the Colonel from that place and appoint another officer in his room and issue most positive orders that none of the European Sardars may injure the poor inhabitants in order that there be no difficulty in paying the kists".⁷

The Governor acknowledged the letter of the Nawab on the 23rd and wrote in reply; "Your Highness may be assured that I shall mark with the strongest disapprobation any irregular conduct on the part of those who act under my authority and that I shall lose no time in sending positive orders to Colonel Bruce the Officer commanding in the southern division to call upon Lieutenant Colonel Baird for a full and satisfactory explanation of the circumstances stated in your Highness' letter and to take the earliest opportunity of quieting the minds of the Brahmans by withdrawing the troops from the pagoda, if they have been placed there.

"I directed the European regiment to proceed to Secundurmally (Tirupparankunram) because it was represented to me as a favourable situation for cantoning them, and my intentions were that Lieutenant Colonel Baird should occupy those chaultries, which had in former occasions and even very lately been appreciated to similar accommodation and that he should consult with your Highness' servants and request their aid in removing any difficulties that might occur. I shall now enjoin him to observe this line of conduct with particular attention and I make no doubt that your Highness will instruct your servants to afford such assistance as he may require for the convenience of the regiment."⁸

Quite in keeping with his promise the Governor soon made enquiries with regard to the conduct of Colonel Baird at Tirupparankunram and wrote to the Nawab as follows on 11th April, 1793 explaining the position according to the information he had received:

"Having called upon Lieutenant Colonel Baird for an explanation of his conduct in the charge preferred against him by the Brahmans of Secundurmally he has stated that he never made any attempt to take possession of the pagoda by force, that the chaultry occupied by the troops is open to the street and had been given up on former occasions for a similar purpose, and that your Highness' principal manager in the district had prevailed upon the Brahmans to give up this chaultry for the accommodation of the Regiment, though they afterwards resisted the attempt to take possession of it. Lieutenant Colonel Baird

⁷[Letter from His Highness the Nawab Walajah to Sir Charles Oakeley Bart, Governor of Madras dated 21st March 1793, *Ibid.* No. 59.

⁸*Ibid.*, No. 60.

added that the pagoda had been and was still in the uninterrupted possession of the Brahmins, and that in consequence of the orders I had sent him, he should immediately withdraw the troops from all the chaultries.”⁹

It is interesting to note that the main incidents at Tirupparankunram described above are recorded in an inscription incised on the walls of the inner gopuram of the temple at the place. It mentions three persons associated with the administration of the country, Asata' Kepila Napapu Sayapu Avargal ruling over the kingdom, Amir Katar Sayapu Avargal ruling over the Madhurai country and Raja Sri Gopal Rayar Avargal. The first of them may be indentified with Nawab Muhammad Ali' Walajah I or his representative at Trichinopoly since he is referred to in the course of the inscription as Asata Napapu Sayapu of Trisirapuram. Amir Katar Sayapu was obviously the same as Abdul Qadir, the renter or Peshkar and Gopal Rao the Mutasaddi or Dewan.

The inscription which is dated S 1714 exp. Partiapi, 4th Panguni, Suklapaksha, 2 Revati corresponding to 13th March 1793 records that a regiment of Europeans came and destroyed the temple of Sokkanatha and Palaniandavar, captured the town, took possession of the *asthana mandapam*, broke the gates of the *atchagopuram* and was approaching the *kalyana mandapam*. Then at the suggestion of some people associated with the temple, one *Kutti*, the son of a *bairagi* ascended the temple tower and jumped down from it (and died) as a result of which the regiment went away. For this religious martyrdom of his some lands were granted as a *rakta kanikkai*.¹⁰ In regard to some important details however there are diversions between the documentary and inscriptional evidence. For instance, while according to the records the regiment continued to stay on at Tirupparanakunram even after the incident, according to the inscription it left the place. But one thing is clear: Colonel Baird forcedly opened the temple in spite of the protests of the local officers and people which resulted in the religious martyrdom of a zealous devotee of the temple, and his report that 'he never made any attempt to take possession of the pagoda by force' is absolutely false, an assertion unworthy of an officer of his position.

⁹. Letter from His Highness the Nawab Walajah to Sir Charles Oakely Bart, Governor of Madras dt. 21-3-1793, No. 70.

¹⁰. Burgess J, and Natesa Sastri, S. M., *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 41—43.

POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE FRENCH IN INDIA BEFORE 1777

By R. C. Mitra

ON the 9th of January 1777, De Bellecombe took charge of the French affairs in India under the imposing title of Marshal of the Garrisons and Army of the King, Commandant General of the French establishments in India and Governor of Pondicherry. Diffident of his new responsibilities in a country where the fortunes of his nation had been none too prosperous for a long time, De Bellecombe thought it prudent to profit by the experience and sane counsels of his predecessor, John Law of Lauriston, reputed as the prolific author of many memoirs on India. On the very day of his accession to office De Bellecombe addressed Law a series of questions evoking information on the political and commercial relationships of the French in India for his own guidance. The questions along with the answers of Law are embodied in a document certified by Law and bearing the date 31 March 1777¹. Law's observations were in supplement of a lengthy and more exhaustive memoir on "The present political condition of India"² which he had previously composed for the enlightenment of De Bellecombe and hence his present remarks refer only to questions of special interest not touched in the previous memoir.

Law states that he had acted under superior instructions in abstaining from any formal alliance with native or European powers in India though he had exerted his influence to the utmost to promote friendly feelings towards the French in the court of the Mughal Emperor and the native princes. The Indian potentates all equally desired humiliation of the English, and might be disposed to lend their weight in favour of the French if only the French could hold out a definite and effective plan of their action. A clear-sighted observer like Law was not slow to perceive that the Indian princes were so hopelessly torn by their conflicting interests that it was very difficult, though not utterly impracticable to bring them to a common line of action. With this view, negotiations had already been undertaken with the Grand Mughal, Haidar Ali and the Marathas, and Law recommends to his successor similar negotiations with Nizam Ali and Basalat Jang. The French in the past had been in correspondence with the Mughal governor at Surat and during his sojourn in Bengal, Law wrote twice or thrice to the Emperor Shah Alam at Delhi. Even after Law's return from Pondicherry he continued to keep the Emperor informed of his intentions through Chevalier, the Resident of Chandernagore. Law advised his successor De Bellecombe to continue this correspondence with the Emperor at Delhi and also with Asaf-ud-daulah of Lucknow though in this matter he was to be guided by the information he received from Chevalier. The arrival of the new governor in Pondicherry was to be notified to Muhammad Ali Khan, Haidar Ali Khan, Nizam Ali, Basalat Jang and the Re-

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1. Ms. No. 236 of the Anciennes Archives de Pondichery.

2. Published by Martineau, Pondichery 1913.

gency in Poona, and the Maratha ruler at Nagpur was to be informed through Chevalier and this was to be followed by a personal letter from De Bellecombe.

Some interesting knowledge can be obtained about the information service of the French in foreign courts. Reduced as the French in India had been to desperate financial straits, Law zealously eked out the means of maintaining agents in various courts to keep himself abreast of latest developments. French interest in Mahe induced Law to maintain an oukil (vakil) in the person of the Brahmin Krishna Rao in the Court of Haidar Ali. Krishna Rao was greatly attached to the French and his allowance of Rs. 100/- per month was admittedly insufficient to meet his various expenses. The French maintained no paid agents in the courts of Nizam Ali and Basalat Jang but in the case of the latter, Law could depend largely on his correspondence with Lalce who was in the employ of Basalat Jang as the Commandant of the Swiss forces and who appeared to be greatly devoted to the cause of the French. In the court of Muhammad Ali the French had a loyal and intelligent vakil named Vingat (Venkata) Rao who was paid Rs. 60/- per month besides the cost of Nazars and small presents which he was required to distribute among the Nawab's servants. The service of a French Officer, Beylee was often utilised by Law to unravel or study some development of special interest. As it was not possible for the French vakil to have audience of the Nawab in the absence of the agents of the English, Law was fortunate enough in tampering with the loyalty and securing the secret assistance of a young officer named Chicherao³ who was in the service of Muhammad Ali. In consideration of a secret payment of Rs. 30/- per month, this young officer is said to have regularly handed over to the French information of even all that "passed within closed doors". This payment was subsequently stopped under orders of the Ministry in response to a complaint by Foucault, a high naval officer. Besides, Coja Assem Kan⁴ (Khwaja Asim Khan) who was a person of distinction in the service of Muhammad Ali, was also greatly attached to French interests and though he received no regular salary, his services had to be gratified with occasional presents. In Tanjore before its capture by Muhammad Ali in 1773 the French had maintained a vakil at Rs. 45/- per month. Since the subsequent reinstatement of the Raja the French had not renewed the old arrangement probably because they felt its futility, as the Raja's affairs had fallen in complete subjection to the English. The French were content to leave their relations with the Raja of Tanjore in the hands of their officers at Karikal. The only European officer whom the French maintained in a native court was Chevalier de Monteverd who was deputed by Chevalier of Chandernagore to Shah Alam in compliance with the latter's request to this effect and the French envoy was paid Rs. 150/- per month.

In the Poona Durbar the French could depend on the loyal partisanship of Nawab Riza Ali Khan, son of Chandersaheb (Chanda Saheb) who was however in receipt of no allowance. Mir Mahmud Riza, a relation of the former was also equally attached to the French and his services could be

³. *Chicherao* is not probably identical with *Shish Rao* (or *Shesh Rao*), an employee of the Nawab of Arcot whose brother, *Raoji*, was at the Poona Court in the capacity of a nowswriter on behalf of the Nawab (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V, page 92)—Secretary.

⁴. *Coja Assem Kan* (Khwaja Asim Khan) is probably the same as *Saiyaid Asim Khan*, Diwan of the Nawab of Arcot (*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII, pages 83-84)—Secretary.

counted on Dadarao⁵ brother of Chicherao, was in the Poona Court as an officer of Muhammad Ali and Law looked forward to an opening of negotiations with the Poona Court through these two trusted brothers, subject to the approval of the Government of France.

The French information service in the European settlements was gravely handicapped for want of funds and no paid agent was any where maintained. Before the establishment of Royal administration in the French settlement, Law had been left with wider initiative and he often took recourse to a very cheap expedient for collecting information. He used to send some one of the Indian Battalion or a Sepoy ostensibly on six months' leave for personal necessity and then left him to exercise his tact and shrewdness to probe into affairs. The services of the sepoys could be utilised to great advantage on certain occasions and sometimes even 'Arkaras' (harkarahs) were despatched for the purpose. The Diwan also managed to draw valuable information under cover of carrying on commercial correspondence with his agents in Madras. Law is of opinion that with proper discrimination in the selection of personnel, the espionage by Sepoys could be continued to great advantage, if only satisfactory payment was made for efficient service.

Law does not enter into any description of the armed forces because a detailed list of the staff and their conditions of service could be found from the records of the government. The marine service of Pondicherry had never been worth the name and consisted of only one Captain of the Port who was an old man whose energies, inspite of his recognised honesty were greatly sapped by advancing years. The French had a few vessels on the Ganges manned by pilots, quarter-masters and apprentices. Law was very strongly in favour of some financial sacrifice to equip at least four such vessels and two smaller boats with two masts and two pilots to ply between the Ganges and the Coromandel coast. He regretted that gambling was a crying evil in the army and it had called forth in the past his vigorous and repeated efforts to check it.

The private trade of the French in India had by this time been reduced to such an extent that it was not worth the trouble of writing a memoir on it. The English had completely absorbed French trade and destroyed it by forcible methods. Trade became for the French only a means of bankruptcy and a Frenchman trembled at the thought of finding the equipment for his ship. In Bengal which was the principal mart for finding cargo, the French had to pay higher price than the English and to be content with an inferior quality of goods. As a result of this unequal competition the French merchants could hardly cover their costs in selling their goods wherever "they went, to China, Moka, Jedda, Bassarah, Surat, Pegou, Achem and to all the parts of the east." This state of affairs as is recognised by Law, could be remedied only by a successful war with the English. The only place where the French commerce still showed some sustained vitality was in the Maldives where the English had already quit-
ted the field because of its insalubrious climate. The French who still languished in this island might fall victim to its deadly climate even before the eventual destruction of their commerce. In India proper the French trade lingered in a state of inanition and Law apprehended that only

⁵ *Dada Rao*, is probably to be identified with Raoji, brother of Shish Rao referred to in note (3) above.—Secretary.

the ruin of certain merchants would precipitate its end. The only profitable trade of the French in India was carried on to the detriment of national interests and consisted of the sale of arms of all varieties and munitions of war to the princes of India without discrimination. This gave rise very often to a flagrant anomaly when princes hostile to France or contemplating hostility, received arms from French ships while recognised allies or princes bound by treaty with France could not be provided with the desired arms or were refused the supply by the French Government of Pondicherry for some good reasons. Nothing could be better calculated to neutralise the good effect of friendly negotiations undertaken with these powers by the French Governor-General.

The commerce of other European rivals, *viz.*, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Portuguese had made no headway since the Treaty of Paris (1763). yet Law found no prospect of misfortune making strange bed-fellows of these malcontents. The Dutch had their unique resources in spice trade. Though they were greatly thwarted in Bengal by the English, they showed little disposition for raising their heads for fear "lest their efforts in humiliating the English might turn to the advantage of the French. One could say that they prefer being ill treated by the English to being caressed by us (French). They fear France more than the English and have still disturbing memory of the time of Louis XIV. Their common interests with the English in Europe also determine their conduct in India". The Danes would prefer to have a balance of power between the English and the French in India but their commerce was of insignificant proportions and existed under sufferance of the English. On many occasions the English rendered them voluntary assistance and took special interest in procuring the necessary cargo for their vessels. Little reliance could be placed on the Portuguese for opening hostilities with the English, in spite of the apparently bellicose projects of their government at Lisbon. Important operation with the English had been expected 2 or 3 years back when 2,500 to 3,000 excellent soldiers arrived at Goa. Law had been told that they were intended to recover Salsette, Bassein etc., which had been seized by the Marathas. But the English reaped the best advantage out of these forces in any way or the other and finally obtained possession of Bassein, Salsette and Caranja. The English in Bengal persisted in the manifestation of their hostile feelings towards the French and passed from one outrage to another more shocking and dishonourable. It was not to be overlooked however that the English in the Carnatic and the Malabar coasts behaved less badly with the French than their compatriots in Bengal and offered the French satisfaction on some of their complaints. The reason appeared very simple to Law. In Bengal, the English looked upon themselves as the masters as much as in Jamaica and the American possessions, and were determined to force on the French a policy of voluntary retirement. Law believed that the English might be even ready for certain concessions to the French to secure their object in Bengal.

A NOTE ON SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF MAHFUZ KHAN BAHADUR

By S. Natarajan

THE Hyderabad State Library owns a collection of letters written by Mahfuz Khan Bahadur to his numerous European and Indian friends in 1866, 1867 and 1875 as well as replies received by him from these gentlemen. Most of these letters belong to the year 1866 and refer to his trip to Hyderabad "the land where our families' best affections are centered".¹ They also contain passing references to some events in the private and official lives of his friends and to the administrative ability, benevolent disposition and popularity of His Excellency Sir Salar Jang. There are nearly 100 letters in this collection.

Mahfuz Khan Bahadur was the great-grandson of Nawab Anwarud-Din Khan Bahadur, the father of Nawab Walajah and "our first ally in the Carnatic who fell bravely fighting against the enemies of the English". His paternal grandfather was Nawab Nasirud-Daulah Bahadur, the uterine younger brother of Nawab Walajah while his maternal grandfather was Nawab Mahfuz Khan Bahadur Shahamat Jang, the elder brother of Nawab Walajah.² The Hon. Sharaf-ul-Umara who was honoured with the title of the Knight Commander of the Star of India in 1866³ and Haidar Jang were his cousins. He was treated with respect both in Muslim and European societies and a large part of Madras Black Town got its name of Mahfuz Khan Gardens from his paternal property therein⁴. In recognition of his respectability His Excellency the Governor of Madras was pleased to include his name in the Invitation List of Government House⁵.

The ostensible object of his visit to Hyderabad was to pay his dutiful *dovoirs* at the tombs of his ancestors Nawab Anwarud-Din Khan and Mahfuz Khan⁶. But his real object was to secure some appointment worthy of his status. His financial position was rapidly deteriorating and his desperate position is clearly revealed in his letter from Hyderabad to one of his patrons. "My present circumstances are very disastrous and beyond my enunciation, in short, I am almost reduced to the last extremity of misery and distress. I would have exercised some patience if I would have the power of facing my difficulties. Moreover the appetite of hunger presses me very hard and violently and I am unable to bear any more. What I had brought with me have been consumed in the kiln of belly, nothing remains for the time being. I therefore request you..... to lay my melancholy and distressed condition before his Highness or else I will have to run the risk of starvation⁷."

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¹. Letter dated 19 March 1866.

². Proceedings of the Madras Government, Political Department, 14 March 1866.

³. Letter from G. N. Taylor dated 26 July 1866.

⁴. Letter of Garret, Canarese Translator to Government, to R. P. Campbell.

⁵. Letter to Captain to A. Henley, Private Secretary to H. E. Governor dated 27 February 1866.

⁶. Though Anwarud-Din Khan's body was first interred at the Jami Masjid at Arcot, it was later removed to Hyderabad in compliance with his special request before his death and was buried by the side of the shrine of Murshid Shah Wali-Ullah at Asafnagar.

⁷. Mahfuz Khan's letter dated 21 January 1867.

He wrote letters to a number of his British patrons to give him letters of introduction to His Excellency Sir Salar Jang and influential Englishmen in the Nizam's state. In those days a mark of gentility seems to have been acquaintance with the big guns in English society and Mahfuz Khan corresponded with some Englishmen just to show off his friendship with them. For example, in his letter to the Hon. C. Pelly dated 9th March 1866 after requesting him to give letters of introduction to any of his civil or military friends, he wrote "If you have none on the contrary I request that you will kindly favour me with such a reply to this as that it may serve it to show of my respectability in the Carnatic family and the friendship that exists between us and thus highly oblige me."

Travelling in those days was rather difficult, slow and expensive, the usual means of communication being bullock carts and palanquins. It took nearly 20 days to travel from Cuddapah to Hyderabad, a distance of about 237 miles, since the usual speed of a bullock cart was about 2 miles an hour. The hire for a pair of posted bullocks was about Rs. 43/-⁸ and for a set of 8 palanquin bearers was about Rs. 75/-⁹. A strong roomy well-made travelling bullock coach could be got secondhand for about Rs. 310/-¹⁰. There were also a number of public bungalows maintained by the Government but these were intended mainly for the convenience of European travellers. Sometimes respectable Indians were also allowed to halt at these bungalows on condition that they would not interfere with the occupation of European travellers. There was an authorised rate of fees for the use of these bungalows but some travellers were allowed to occupy them free of charge¹¹.

There are some references to public lotteries sponsored by Messrs. Albert & Co., Secunderabad. The object of this raffle is not known but public lotteries were not uncommon in those days. The first of these lotteries in Madras under Government patronage was started by Macartney, the Governor of Madras (1781—1785) when he was very much hard pressed for money. His example seems to have been followed by others also and the post of the Superintendent of Government Lotteries¹² was probably created to supervise these lotteries. A number of raffles were organised by private individuals and associations for financing schemes of public welfare like starting of Male Asylum, relief of the poor, lame or blind natives

⁸. Letter of T. G. Ward Dy. Collector in charge of Treasury, Cuddapah dated 7 March 1866.

⁹ and ¹⁰. Letter of Iyaswamy Pillai, Native Surgeon, Cuddapah dated 15 March 1866.

It is interesting to compare these rates with the following extracts selected from the Memorandum of travels and expenses incurred during the year 1865 by Short, Asst. Surgeon General, Supdt., Vaccination.

Tinnevely to Madura Bullock Dak	Rs. 30
Madura to Trichinopoly Bullock Dak	Rs. 30
Trichinopoly to Salom Bullock Dak	Rs. 30
Bezwada to Guntur Palki dak	Rs. 7
Cuddapah to Kurnool Bullock dak	Rs. 30
Kurnool to Adoni Bullock dak	Rs. 20
Bellary to Cuddapah Bullock dak	Rs. 40

(Proceedings of Madras Government Public Dept. 22 October 1866.)

¹¹. Order of the Chief Secretary dated 21 July 1866 (Proceedings of Madras Government Public Department).

¹². Fort St. George consultations 17 January 1843.

of Madras, construction of roads, bridges, hospitals churches etc.¹³ This method of raising funds was not approved by a few public men.

The great famine which created havoc in different parts of South India are referred to in these letters. Bowring in his letter dated 20th June 1866 deploras that "there is much distress in the Country owing to long draught and high prices" while Mahfuz Khan in his letter dated 5th September 1866 regrets that inspite of good rains during the previous two months "every article of consumption was sold at an enhanced rate, consequently His Excellency the Minister distributes rice gratuitously among all poorest classes of people daily at the rate of 2,000 rupees without any distinction". The extracts quoted above will thus show that the letters of Mahfuz Khan contain information of historical importance.

¹³. *Vestiges of old Madras by Henry Davison Love Vol. III* pp. 222, 365-7, 445, 446, 498, 512, 513 and 516.

TWO FARMANS OF SHAH JAHAN TO THE RANA OF UDAIPORE

By Sh. Abdur Rashid

In the manuscript collection of the library attached to the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Aligarh we have some very rare manuscripts of considerable historical interests. This collection is being catalogued by my able friend Maulana Abrar Hussain Faruqi, M.A. He brought to my notice copies of two *farmans* of Shah Jahan issued on the Emperor's behalf by Shah Jahan's famous Wazir Allami Saadullah. These *farmans* relate to the Ranas of Udaipore and are important as they reveal the nature of the diplomatic relations existing between the Mughals and the Rajput princes in subordinate alliance with the suzerain power. They throw further light on the reaction of the Mughal emperors to the repair and fortification of Chitor in contravention of a former treaty and the action taken by Shah Jahan against the recalcitrant Rana.

The long drawn struggle against Mewar which began in the time of Akbar came to a close in the reign of Jahangir, when Rana Amar Singh submitted to the Mughals and Jahangir's attitude on this occasion was magnanimous and statesmanlike and Mewar remained henceforth a loyal and subordinate ally of the Mughals. One of the conditions imposed on the Rajputs which must have been galling to their pride, was the order that the fort of Chitor which was restored to the Rana was not to be fortified or repaired. It was this which strained the Mughal-Rajput relations in the time of Shah Jahan. Rana Jagat Singh (1628—1652) and his son Raj Singh in contravention of the treaty started to repair the fort of Chitor. When Shah Jahan learnt of it he sharply reprimanded the Rana who immediately submitted and no further action was taken. (Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, 214).¹

Rana Jagat Singh died in the year 1652.² His son Raj Singh on his accession sent a petition and presented an elephant to the Emperor Shah Jahan through Raja Kalyan Das Jahala. The Emperor in return conferred the mansab of five thousand horse on Raj Singh and bestowed on him a *Khilat*, and conferred the title of Rana on him through Raja Vithaldas and Kalyan Das.

In the same year Dara Shikoh was entrusted with the Qandahar campaign. In the farman No. 1 (reproduced below in English translation) Shah Jahan, after expressing his sorrow at the death of Jagat Singh asked Raj Singh to fulfil the promises made by his father, Rana Jagat Singh who had agreed to send a thousand horse to Qandahar, but had sent only 5 hundred

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1. The incident referred to does not occur in the reference quoted—Secretary.

2. The author of *Amal-i-Sabih* mentions the death of Jagat Singh under the events of the year 26th and again speaks of his defiant attitude towards Shah Jahan in the matter of Chitor 2 years after. This is evidently incorrect. It was his son Raj Singh against whom Sadullah was sent with a large army and which fact is mentioned in Farman II.

horse under Bhopat Singh.³ Three parganas were given to the Rana because of this military assistance.⁴ Farman No. I refers to these incidents.

The 2nd Farman (reproduced below in English translation) was issued on *Muharram 20, 1065 A.H.* When Shah Jahan reached Ajmer on *Muharram 14, 1065 A.H.* he came to know about the activities of Rana Raj Singh of Chitor. The Rana was carrying out repairs and reconstruction of the fort in contravention of the treaty which Rana Amar Singh had entered into with Jahangir. According to this treaty the repair or reconstruction of Chitor had been strictly prohibited. Shah Jahan sent Abdul Beg for verification of the report. When the latter confirmed it, Shah Jahan ordered Allami Sadullah Khan to proceed to Chitor at the head of thirty thousand soldiers and demolish the recently raised structures. He was further instructed to lay waste the entire territory of the Rana if the latter persisted in his defiant attitude.

The Rana was terrified. He submitted and requested Dara Shikoh to intercede on his behalf and secure imperial pardon. The Emperor promised to pardon him on two conditions. The Rana was to send his son to the Court and provide a contingent of one thousand soldiers under one of his relatives for the Deccan campaign. In case of non-compliance, the entire territory of the Rana was to be laid waste.

The Rana made an abject submission. He requested the Emperor to send Shaikh Abdul Karim the Diwan to him so that the submission may be expedited.

Sadullah Khan was informed of these developments and was asked not to go to extreme. He demolished the new constructions of the forts and returned to the capital. The Rana sent his six year old son to the court with some of his relatives and Shaikh Abudl Karim, Chandra Bhan Munshi and other Mughal officers.

The Emperor pardoned Raj Singh who was again restored to favour.

The Emperor received the boy with honour, gave him the name of Sohag Singh and sent him back to his father with instructions to send him to the Deccan. Shah Jahan in this *farman* confirms the promise held out by Dara Shikoh and the terms offered by the Imperial agent Chandra Bhan. Chandra Bhan has left us an excellent account of these transactions in a report he sent to the Court, after the successful conclusion of the "Police action" against the Rana (for details see *Islamic Research Association Miscellany*, Vol. 1, 1948 "Shajehan and the Rana of Udaipore, pp. 93—99, by S.A. Rashid).

FARMAN No. I

FARMAN OF SHAH JAHAN SENT TO RANA RAJ SINGH

The cream of the devoted well wishers, the epitome of faithful adherents, product of the loyal dynasty, purest of the trust worthy family, essence of the obedient ones, best amongst his equals and peers, obedient to Islam, Rana Raj Singh, after having been honoured with royal favours should know that now that the news of the death of Rana Jagat Singh and his (Raj Singh's) petition containing professions of his loyalty and submission in keeping with the customary practice of his ancestors and relatives who have enjoyed kindly favours and who have been honoured by the Shadow of God (the

3. *Vir Vinod* by Shamaldas Kaviraj gives the name as *Bhopat Ram* in place of Bhopat Singh (p. 322)—Secretary.

4. *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. III, page 160, Bib-Indica Series, Calcutta.

Emperor) having been communicated through Kalyan Das Jhala has been submitted to us. According to the holy order and pious command the compliance of which will result in securing your objects, you are required to take 1000 horse well-equipped and well trained with you to Qandahar to assist our son dear as life to us, the most noble and the most successful, the favoured one of the Almighty, the comfort of the eye of the empire and dignity, the crescent of glory and honour, pearl in the crown of the great empire, true son of the exalted caliphate, the receptacle of divine lights, the horizon of the favours of the Shadow of God, glory of the fame and nobility of the dynasty, lamp of the fortunate and sublime family, valuable gem, magnificent, and of high lineage, of exalted position, seeker after bliss, Prince Dara Shikoh. On this account according to the royal favour and attention which is always given to your family, we have honoured you with the title of Rana and have sent to you a robe of honour, a dagger set with gems and gold, a horse from the royal stable with gold trappings, and an elephant from the royal stable, through the trustworthy servant Pardman Gaur nephew of Vithal Das and Kalyan Das Jhala. He should know that when Rana Amar Singh came under the royal patronage and secured the royal service, it was decided that Rana during the Deccan expedition should supply one thousand horse and whatever orders were given to him he should carry them out. During the most blessed days of our principality both the beginning and the end of which were holy, when the battle field of Burhanpur was glorified with the crescent of our glorious and high flags, Rana Jagat Singh accompanied us and it was agreed upon that after the return of the royal army, he should station one thousand horse permanently under one of his relations in the Deccan. After the Deccan episode, it came to our knowledge that one of Rana Jagat Singh's relations was in the royal service and according to the agreement his contingent did not reach there. Consequently, we desired that the pargana of Badnur, with a revenue of 50 lac *dams* and pargana of Mandalgarh with a revenue of 45 lac *dams* and pargana of Pur with a revenue of 26 lac *dams*, the total revenue of which comes to one crore 21 lac *dams*, should be taken over from the Rana and attached to the *Khalsa*. In the meantime the news of the death of the Rana was received. At the same time the recipient of favours agreed upon to send one thousand well equipped horse to Qandahar but from the report of Shah Ali, Faujdar of Ajmer, who is a favoured servant, it came to our knowledge that you, the recipient of our favour have sent up till now only 5 hundred horse under the command of Bhopat son of Sambha and the remaining portion of the army will be sent later. Consequently, subject to sending of one thousand horse to Qandahar without the least reduction, the three parganas are bestowed upon you for your personal expenses. Now it behoves you to serve us faithfully and loyally and to carry out in the best way the royal orders and the command of the Divine *Khalifa*; because your safety and comfort lies in this. And you must acquire this good and desirable habit of your ancestors because Rana Amar Singh realized the value of service of and submission to the Imperial Court. The Rana himself was twice admitted into our service and was honoured with various royal favours, and his son Rana Karan after his succession glorified himself by kissing the holy threshold and received many favours. He (Raj Singh) should know that he will always receive our favours.

Dated 28 Jumadi ul Awwal, 26 Regnal Yr—

1063 A.H.

1652 A.D.

Drafted by Sadullah Khan.

FARMAN II

FARMAN OF EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN TO RANA RAJ SINGH SENT THROUGH ABDUL KARIM

The cream of the devoted well-wishers, the epitome of faithful adherents, the product of the loyal dynasty, purest of the family of the seekers after royal pleasure, essence of the obedient ones, best amongst his equals and peers, faithful to Islam, Rana Raj Singh should expect the royal favours, and should know that our son dear to us as life, the most noble and the most successful, the favoured one of the Creator, comfort of the eye of the empire and dignity, the crescent of glory and honour, pearl of the crown of the great empire, true son and successor of the exalted caliphate, the receptacle of the divine lights, the horizon of the favours of the shadow of God, glory of the fame and nobility and the dynasty, lamp of the sublime ruling dynasty, valuable gem, magnificent, of high lineage, of exalted position, seeker after bliss, prince of high dignity Muhammad Dara Shikoh interceded on your behalf to get your faults pardoned. His intercession received the royal acceptance. Those faults which he had committed were pardoned by us in consonance with royal mercy. In future he should not repeat such acts and he should not go against the holy and sublime command, because the royal favours yield good results and fruits. On the contrary fall from favours yields bad results and fruits and thus create havoc. Formerly the prince of high dignity and sublime position had sent Chandra Bhan to you with his assurances; you should therefore, under the guidance of your fortune, send your son Teeka⁵ with Chandra Bhan to enable him to reach Ajmer on the day when the victorious royal camp is set there and prostrate before the threshold of fortune. In the meantime, since prince of the world, for the sake of further satisfaction had sent his trusted and favoured Diwan Shaikh Abdul Karim to you, you ought to see and try to expiate your past faults and you ought to send your son with the said Shaikh without the least delay to this court for our satisfaction because the assurances given by the prince are really equal to ours and you should send your brother with the army agreed to before to the Deccan province to perform royal service there.

Dated 20th Muharram 28 Regnal year—

1065 A.H.

1654 A.D.

Drafted by Allami Sadullah.

5. *Vinod* gives the name of the prince who was sent to the Mughal Court as Sultan Singh and not Teeka (p.413)—Secretary.

A 'MÉMOIRE' ON FRANCO-MARATHA NEGOTIATIONS FROM

1770 TO 1783.

By S. P. Sen

THE attempt made by St. Lubin in 1777 to bring about a Franco-Maratha alliance is fairly well known to students of modern Indian history, but the earlier attempt of Chevalier, the Commandant at Chandernagore, and the later one of Montigny, the special French envoy at Poona, are not so generally known. On the subject of Franco-Maratha negotiations between 1770 and 1783 there is an interesting and very informative document in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* ¹, Paris, which gives a connected narrative of all the successive attempts made to form an alliance between France and the Maratha Confederacy. It is an anonymous document, entitled "Mémoire et Réflexions sur les négociations de la cour de France avec les Marattes, et particulièrement sur celle dont a été chargée M. de Montigny", and bears the date 1784. The author adds a brief explanatory note about the memoir, that he had drawn it up merely to ascertain for his own satisfaction the cause of the failure of the mission of Montigny. The tone of the memoir is highly critical of the abilities and policies of all the three agents, Chevalier, St. Lubin and Montigny, who had attempted to bring about an alliance between the French and the Marathas. It is in sharp contrast to the spirit of confidence expressed in the majority of the French memoirs of the period about the ease with which an anti-English coalition could be formed among the principal Indian Powers. The author, who seems to have a good knowledge of Indian Power politics, was highly sceptical about the reliance to be placed on the promises and assurances of Indian Princes, and doubted the feasibility of any attempt to form a long-term understanding with any of them or to keep them united against a common enemy. Although dealing with all the successive phases of Franco-Maratha negotiations from 1770 to 1783 the memoir is principally concerned with the mission of Montigny, which it discusses in greater details than the attempts made by Chevalier and St. Lubin.

The first person among the French not only to entertain the idea of building up an anti-English coalition in India but also to carry on active intrigues at the various Darbars to achieve the objective was the enterprising Commandant at Chandernagore (1768-78), Chevalier, whose voluminous correspondence on the subject from 1769 to 1778, preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* ², is the best testimony if not to his political sagacity, at least to his patriotic zeal. Working under severe restrictions at Chandernagore, surrounded by English territories on all sides, Chevalier had perforce to take recourse to secret diplomacy. Moreover, down to 1775, in spite of all his frantic exhortations, Chevalier could not obtain the approval of his diplomatic projects from the Ministry at home, which did not even care to reply to his letters. Placed in such a position, Chevalier could carry

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1. Ms. Fr. 12093.

2. Ms. Fr., Nouv. Acq., 9366.

on his diplomatic intrigues at the various Darbars only through secret agents, often travelling in disguise and having no official status or accreditation. A close understanding with some of the Maratha Chiefs, formed an important part of his early diplomatic projects, and in 1770-71 he sent two secret agents named Visage and du Jarday to Janhoji, the Maratha Chief at Nagpur, and to Sindhia, Holkar, and Visaji Krishna, commanding the Maratha army before Delhi.³

Commenting on the activities of these secret agents the author of the "Memoire et Reflexions" wrote: "It may be taken as a general rule that these petty missions, without any official status and being undertaken in an atmosphere of mysterious obscurity which makes them look similar to the Apostles of a new religious sect, have served only to expose to the whole of India the weakness of the French, and to maintain in a deplorable illusion those who would imagine that a vain collection of letters of compliments or promises from the Princes or their Diwans and a net-work of relationships, insincere and contradictory, could be the basis to work for the destruction of an enemy who displayed at the same time all the resources of force and genius. For the rest, M. Chevalier has experienced in the province of Katek, that is to say the very heart of the theatre of his diplomacy, how much weak and illusory it had been. He would have suffered the same fate at the hands of any other Prince, since the one who surrendered him belonged to a nation professing greater respect than any other for the rules of hospitality."

The next attempt at negotiating an alliance with the Marathas was made by St. Lubin, who was at Poona from May 1777 to July 1778. The author of the "Memoire et Reflexions" does not attach much importance to St. Lubin, although he admits that the latter was sent by the Minister de Sartine, on some sort of a mission to the Maratha Government. At Poona St. Lubin's conduct was marked by extravagance and undue pretensions. He exceeded his authority and thereby compromised the position of the Minister, in giving assurances to the Maratha Government about the supply of troops and artillery. Nevertheless, it appeared that he did inspire some confidence among the Marathas, which caused great alarm to the English and led to their putting effective pressure on the Poona Government to dismiss him. While leaving the Maratha capital St. Lubin again made grand and illusory promises that he was shortly coming back to India with a naval squadron, troops and artillery.⁴

The third phase of Franco-Maratha negotiations was the mission of Montigny. Montigny's diplomatic work in India may be divided into two periods, from 1778 to 1779, and again from 1781 to 1788, when he left Poona to take up his appointment as Commandant at Chandernagore. The first time that he was sent out to India by the Minister, de Sartine, his mission was to report on the feasibility of an alliance with the Mughal Emperor and the practicability of the project of conquering the province of Tatta, as suggested by Chevalier and Madee. But although his mission did not extend to south India, want of money made him stop for a time, first in Hyderabad where he stayed at the camp of de Lallee then in the service of Nizam Ali for two or three months, and later at Poona where he received help from Warnet, the supercargo of the *Sartine* by which St. Lubin had come to India. Warnet, who had stayed on at Poona for private trade even after the departure of St.

(3.) Ms. Fr., Nouv. Acq., 9366—Chevalier's letter to Minister dated 6th January 1771

(4.) For an exposure of St. Lubin's pretensions see Bellecombe's memoire dated 24th January 1778—Pondicherry Archives, Ms. No. 290.

Lubin, introduced Montigny to Nana Phadnavis and other leaders of the Government. But although Montigny tried to impress that he had been sent by the French Government on a special diplomatic mission to the Maratha Court, Nana Phadnavis refused to discuss afresh any proposal of alliance until he knew the views of the French Government on the agreement concluded with St. Lubin. ⁵

Montigny left India at the beginning of 1780 and returned to France by a Portuguese ship.⁶ Even before his return he had been promoted to the rank of a Colonel and made a Chevalier of St. Louis. Back in Paris he impressed the new Minister of Marine and Colonies, Marquis de Castries, and secured his appointment on another diplomatic mission to India. His instructions did not confine him to any definite object, but permitted him to carry on negotiations with the various Princes of India, without however any final authority to conclude treaties. He was placed under the control of the Governor-General of the Isle of France, and was given a number of blank commissions to be distributed at his discretion among the French officers in the employment of the country Powers. Montigny left France in March 1781 and reached India in October after a short stay in the Isle of France.

In the meantime the political situation in India had taken a turn favourable to the French. The English were at war with two of the strongest Powers, the Marathas and Haidar Ali, while Nizam Ali was actively engaged in forming a confederacy among the three southern Powers against their common enemy. It was no doubt difficult to preserve unity among Powers with conflicting views and interests, but the prompt arrival of a strong French expeditionary force, desired by all the three Powers, would have helped in keeping them together till the achievement of their immediate objective. However, the project of such a coalition did not materialise, to some extent because of French inactivity and delay in sending out an expeditionary force. Nizam Ali, the originator of the project, was the first to draw back and to come to an understanding with the English. But even after the failure of the project both Haidar Ali and the Marathas were still eager to gain French assistance. The former was in negotiation with Souillac, Governor-General of the Isle of France, through Piveron de Morlat, the French agent at his Darbar, and in 1781 he even sent a person to the Isle of France to hasten the departure of French troops. The Marathas had also decided to send an agent to the Isle of France to negotiate for the assistance of 2,000 French troops, offering to pay 60,000 rupees per month for their subsistence.

It was at this juncture that Montigny arrived in the Isle of France on his way to India. But while he favoured an alliance with the Marathas and an early despatch of French troops to the Malabar coast for their assistance, he was disappointed to see that Souillac had completed preparations for sending an expeditionary force to the Coromandel coast to co-operate with Haidar Ali. Montigny could not alter the arrangements already made. Nevertheless, he decided to proceed to Poona in the hope of concluding a treaty of alliance with the Marathas by promising the assistance of French troops on the Malabar coast. He was accompanied to India by Piveron de Morlat, who was going to the Court of Haidar to inform him of the decision of Souillac to send an expeditionary force promptly. Montigny arrived at Goa in October 1781, and met there the agent of the Poona Government, ready to start for the Isle of France with the proposals of military co-operation noticed

(⁵.) For an account of Montigny's interview with Nana see Montigny's letter to Minister, Pondicherry Archives, Ms. No. 5330.

above. He stopped the agent from proceeding further, with the assurance that he had been sent by the French Government to negotiate a treaty of alliance.

Montigny arrived at Poona in November 1781, and for a few months carried on fruitless talks with Nana Phadnavis. The thing was that, although welcomed at Poona he did not gain the full confidence of the Maratha Government and was taken as another St. Lubin. According to the author of the "Memoire et Reflexions", what lost Montigny all credit in the eye of the Poona Government was the despatch of a French expeditionary force to the Coromandel coast to assist Haidar and not to the Malabar coast to co-operate with the Marathas, as promised by both St. Lubin and Montigny. It was this disillusion about the sincerity of French assurances that finally decided the Poona Government to start peace negotiations with the English. The Marathas did later put forward certain proposals of alliance at the insistence of Montigny, but that was after negotiations with the English had proceeded far, of which Montigny had no knowledge at all. These fresh proposals were sent through Chauvigny and Warnet to de Suffren for communication to Souillac in the Isle of France. While the Marathas carried on negotiations with the English in the closest of secrecy, they did not observe the same principle in respect of the mission of Chauvigny and Warnet. On the other hand they deliberately intended the mission to become public in order to draw from it the following advantages :

- "1. To make the English less difficult about the treaty of peace and to obtain from them better terms, of which the one concerning Raghoba was bound to meet with a good deal of opposition.
2. To perplex Haidar, made too arrogant by the alliance of the French, and who always excused himself about paying to the Marathas the sums which he has to send them annually as long they continued the war against the English.
3. To hide from him by this *demarche* the treaty of peace (with the English) which they were considering, in the fear that this Prince, coming to know of it, might refuse to pay the money that they were expecting and might himself make his peace with the English, who in that case would not accord such good terms to the Marathas."

In making the proposals of an alliance with France even after negotiations with the English had proceeded far, the Maratha Government took no risk whatsoever. Because even if the French accepted the proposals after the conclusion of an Anglo-Maratha treaty and sent an expeditionary force to the Malabar coast to attack Bombay according to the proposals, the Marathas would have felt themselves free to choose any line of action,—either to break the treaty with the English and join the French, or to reject the treaty with France with impunity, being secure by the treaty with the English. It was to safeguard the present as well as the future that the Poona Government made the proposals to the French while simultaneously carrying on negotiations with the English.

The mission of Chauvigny and Warnet met with an unhappy accident. While they were proceeding to Trinkomali to meet de Suffren, their boat, the *Lézard*, was captured by the English in the neutral port of Tranquebar. Chauvigny was taken prisoner, but Warnet could escape with the important papers and reach Trinkomali sometime later. De Suffren communicated the Maratha proposals to Souillac as well as to the Minister Marquis

de Castries. Commenting on the result of the project of a Franco-Maratha alliance the author of the "Memoire et Reflexions" stated that it merely "accelerated the conclusion of peace between the English and the Marathas and annoyed Haidar who had never liked the residence of Montigny at Poona".⁶

Montigny did not confine his attention to the Maratha Darbar alone. He was anxious to cast his diplomatic net wider and kept up a regular correspondence with the Courts of Delhi and Hyderabad. During his first mission to India he had met Najaf Khan, who had assured him of the Emperor's friendship for France and readiness to co-operate in any enterprise against the English. But before Montigny's return to India on the second mission the situation at Delhi had changed completely by the sudden death of Najaf Khan and the internecine strife that followed among his lieutenants. Even then Montigny entertained hopes of drawing assistance from the Empire and kept up a regular correspondence with several persons in the Darbar, particularly with Pauly commanding the partisan army of Sombre. He wanted to go to Delhi himself to finalise arrangements for co-operation between the French and the Imperial forces and sought the permission of Bussy immediately after the latter's arrival in India, but the news of the tragic death of Pauly in faction-fighting among the contestants for power at Delhi made him ultimately abandon the idea. The author of the "Memoire et Reflexions" regarded the plan of drawing the Empire into the orbit of French alliances as fantastic, and severely condemned Montigny for having put reliance on the assurances and sentiments of friendship of the Emperor and of some of the chiefs of the Darbar. The letters written by them would no doubt impress men who did not know that "Mughal politeness is even more artificial and more abounding in terms of affection than ours", but "in order to judge correctly the value of such letters it is necessary to know the character of the persons who caused them to be written and the resources of those who wrote them".

Montigny had hoped to draw the Court of Hyderabad into the projected ring of alliances and was in regular correspondence with Aumont, then in the service of Nizam Ali. The author of the "Memoire et Reflexions" observed that the letters exchanged between the two French agents must have convinced both of them of the little credit they enjoyed in the Darbar of Hyderabad. Montigny had also entertained an illusion about the friendly disposition of the Maratha Raja of Nagpur. But while he wrote to that Prince to co-operate with Bussy in destroying the English power in India, he was sadly unaware of the fact that he was occupied at that very moment with mediating peace between the English and the Marathas. Montigny was not more fortunate in his relations with Haidar, to whom he wrote several letters without ever getting a reply. The thing was that in order to please the Poona Ministers and to counteract the impression that the French preferred an alliance with the ruler of Mysore, Montigny frequently spoke about Haidar and his son in derogatory terms in the open Darbar, which the shrewd Marathas communicated to the latter as a proof of their own friendship and of French duplicity.

The author of the "Memoire et Reflexions" admitted that the vast mass of diplomatic letters of Montigny proved his industry and perseverance, but "they cannot do honour to his zeal without casting serious reflections

(6.) The author of "Memoire et Reflexions" considered the Maratha proposals as wholly unacceptable to France. For the actual terms see Pondicherry Archives, Ms. No. 5341.

on his judgement". Montigny, while trying to negotiate with other Darbars from Poona, failed to realise that the Indian Princes were, as a general rule, unwilling to treat of important matters with other Powers through vakeels not sent directly to their Courts. Finally he failed to perform the two essential functions which could have justified his residence at Poona,—first, to prevent the conclusion of peace between the English and the Marathas, and second, to supply accurate and day to day information about English plans and movements on the Malabar coast to the commanders of the French naval and military forces. Regarding the second, Montigny merely passed on from time to time hear-say reports which ultimately turned out to be absolutely untrue. The confidence which he reposed in the Governor of Goa was also abused by the latter, to the advantage and profit of the English. The author of the "*Memoire et Reflexions*" then commented bitterly that in comparison with the poor results achieved, the mission of Montigny had cost the French nation much too dear, the total expenses up to the beginning of 1784 amounting to 70,000 rupees, and that in spite of the fact that he had received many supplies and services free from the Maratha Government.

The author concluded his memoir by stating that the principal cause of the failure of Montigny was his inability to understand that the political system in India differed wholly from that in Europe. While in the West fundamental basis was the principle of balance of power, in India "the weakest submits to the law of the strongest. Every one retains as long as he can the fruits of his usurpations and conquests. Exchanges of convenience are extremely rare. There is no other basis for treaties of peace but the impossibility of continuing the war on one side and a well secured advantage for the side which imposes the terms. The policies of a Court change from season to season and sometimes in a manner entirely opposed to what one would expect. Consequently, it is useless to try to forecast events. One can only watch them as they develop, and in order to be a master of the situation at any favourable moment it is necessary to be strong both in money as well as in military force." In the absence of these two essential requirements Montigny's mission was pre-destined to fail.

A NOTE ON THE RAJARATANKARA

By G. N. Sharma

THE work under review was found by me in two copies¹ in the Library of His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur. For the sake of convenience I propose to call them A and B.

The manuscript A is the original copy consisting of 131 loose leaves, each measuring $8\frac{1}{2}" \times 4"$ and containing 6 to 7 lines of about 28 letters each. It is in a decayed state and is too delicate for handling. The few blanks which occur here and there in the text are probably due to the soiling of the letters by water.

The manuscript B is comparatively bigger in size. It measures $12" \times 5"$ and contains 10 lines of about 41 letters in each folio. It is a faithful copy of A and on the whole is in a fairly good state of preservation. It has been recently copied in V. S. 1991 by the paid scribe of the library, Nand Kishore.

As regards orthography the following points need mention. *Sandhi*, *lupta-akara* and *halanta* are used almost in all cases. The letters 't' and 'p' are so similar in appearance to 'n' and 'y' respectively that they are hardly distinguishable. Similarly it is difficult to find the difference in 'Ku' 'Kra' and 'u'.

The language of the manuscript is Sanskrit, and the script Nagari. The entire work is a metrical device composed mostly of *Anushtubh*, *Vam-sastha*, *Indravajra*, *Sardulavikridita* and *Malini* metres. The author seems to be very particular about grammatical uses, idiomatic expressions, similes and metaphors. The style is quite unaffected and the composition is free from errors.

The work, as it stands, is an incomplete manuscript of 23 cantos with an average of 40 verses in each.

The manuscript A as preserved in the library is of immense value to historians both as an independent and corroborative source on the history of Mewar. The work purports to be a history of the Guhilot dynasty, but it is mainly devoted to the reign of Raj Singh, the contemporary of Aurangzeb. It is one of the few contemporary records which give impartial account of Raj Singh. For the early portion it seems that the author has made use of nearly all possible sources of study available at that time. Though Rhetoric-poetry and imaginations are freely utilized in turn to make the work interesting and stylish, its charm as a history remains a predominating factor. Its greatest importance lies in the fact that no historian of Rajputana, either Col. Tod or Kaviraj Shyamal Das or Dr. Ojha, has made use of this work and as such it remains a manuscript of inviting interest to scholars.²

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¹ Now they have been transferred to Saraswati Sadan, the Public Library, Udaipur.

² I, the humble writer have used it for the first time.

I propose here to give a brief survey of the contents of this Kavya as preserved in Manuscript A. It begins with an invocatory verse dedicated to Siva.³ The writer then takes up his personal narrative and the account of his early study at Banaras at the feet of his teacher Vatsa Raj. Here the writer furnishes a very interesting fact about his migration to Mewar. Due to disorder in northern India he had to leave his home and choose Mewar a safer place for his living where he found congenial atmosphere for his learning to flourish.⁴ Then the Kavya proceeds with the description of the rulers of Mewar who played valiant parts in defending their country against Turkish and Mughal attacks.

The manuscript preserves rare events of history and therefore its historical value is immense. For example, it mentions that Rana Sanga was successful in defeating Sultan of Mandu⁵ several times, a fact hitherto doubted by modern writers.⁶ The manuscript also throws light on the tactics of war adopted by Rana Pratap at the famous field of Haldiaghat. According to it Pratap himself occupied the centre followed by Bhama Shah his minister and Tara Chand the brother of the latter. The Bhil foot-men who acknowledged the commission of Rana Purna (the Bhil leader) took their position on the hills and hillocks of the Ghati with their short swords, arrows and bows and number of stones to be hurled or thrown over the enemies.⁷ According to Badaoni⁸ the regular battle terminated at noon. But our manuscript adds that the Bhils did not spare Man Singh's men and went on fighting till night and deprived the enemies of their provisions which they had stored.⁹ The circumstantial events, the nature of the Bhils and the fatigue of the imperial army make us believe that the Mughals might have under-gone this type of difficulty.

The manuscript under review gives additional information year by year about the reign of Rana Raj Singh. When Sadullah Khan with 30,000 troops was despatched towards Chitor with instructions to demolish the repairs of the fort which were made by the Rana though against the terms of the treaty,¹⁰ the Rana according to the *Rajaratnakara*¹¹ sent words through his physician, Govinda to prince Dara to secure pardon from the Emperor for his action. The renewed submission was painful to the Rana's

³. Ms. *Rajaratnakara* Canto, I, V.I.

४ "देशोऽस्मिन् मेदपारे व्यपगत यवनोपद्रवेराणकानां ।
धन्योऽयं राजधानी त्रिनयनकृपया निश्चला निश्चलेन"

⁵. Ms. *Rajaratnakara* Folio 32 (a) V.II.

"वध्वायेन मुहुर्मुहुः किल सुरव्रणो विमुक्तोरणे
राहृष्यान्वयभूषणेन महता संग्रामसिंहेनव"

⁶. A contemporary evidence of a copper-plate No. 26/44, Misal Jagir, Samvat 93, of the 12th of the dark half of Varsakh the V.S. 1576, 11th April, 1519 A.D., which I have discovered recently at Records' branch of Commissioners' office, Udaipur, fully establishes, the defeat of the Sultan of Mandu.

⁷. Ms. *Rajaratnakara* Canto u. V. 22 F. 35 (a).

⁸. Badaoni, Mulla A.Q. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Persian Text, Vol. II, P. 234.

⁹. Ms. *Rajaratnakara*, Canto 7. UV. 41, 42 F. 139.

¹⁰. Ms. *Khulasai-Shahajahan Nama* of Zahid Khan P. 239. (Saraswati Sadan Library).

Inayat Khan : *Shah-Jahannama*, Elliot, Vol. VII P. 103.

Rajaprasasti, Canto 6, VV. 11-12.

¹¹. Ms. *Rajaratnakara*, Canto, 10, V.S.

sense of honour who is said to have promised that as long as he did not avenge himself on the Emperor he would not feel his existence justified.¹² He began to wait patiently for a suitable opportunity. Very soon the opportune moment came when Shah Jahan fell ill in September, 1657. It was a signal for war among his four sons. The manuscript shows here the attitude and action of Raj Singh who leads expedition to the lost part of the dominions in Mewar when the war of succession among Shah Jahan's sons was in progress.¹³ Similarly it gives an account of Dara's letter which the Rana received at his camp of Kekri¹⁴. It further states that while encamped on the bank of Banas he (the Rana) heard of the victory of Aurangzeb at Samogarh and so went back to his capital by the end of June and sent his son Sobhag Singh and his brother Ari Singh with presents and congratulations to the victorious Emperor.¹⁵ The manuscript further gives details of the prosperity enjoyed by the Rajputs as long as Raj Singh and Aurangzeb were in good terms¹⁶. It also furnishes sufficient information about Raj Samundra¹⁷ and its completion ceremony¹⁸ and the pilgrimage of the royal family to Banaras and other holy places.¹⁹ The Kavya then comes to an abrupt end at the *ardha pada*²⁰ following the 19th verse of 23rd Canto. Had the manuscript been complete it might have been very useful as regards informing us about the Shisodiya-Rathor alliance, the Mughal wars and other political issues of the period. However, it must be admitted that whatever the manuscript records it has its own importance. It is independent of other contemporary works like Rajaprasasti Mahakavya and Amarakavya Vamsavali.²¹

Then follows the colophon of the manuscript which appears on the last page. It states that it was composed by Sadashiva, the resident of Banaras, at the instance of Garibdas, the head priest of Rana Raj Singh, in V. S. 1733 (1676 A.D.).

¹². Ms. *Rajaratnakara* Canto 10, V. 10.

‘यावन्न कुर्यात् प्रतिकर्म शत्रोः तावन्न चान्तर्द्विपुस्तुजातम्’

¹³. *Ibid*, Canto 10, VV. 16—19.

¹⁴. *Ibid*, Canto 10, VV, 20—22.

¹⁵. *Ibid*, Canto 10, VV. 49—53.

¹⁶. *Ibid*, Cantos 11—16.

¹⁷. It is one of the most beautiful lakes of Mewar constructed by Raj Singh. Over its ‘Pal’ stand ‘Nochanki’ the best carved Chhatris of Northern India.

¹⁸. Ms. *Rajaratnakara*, Cantos 22—23 VV, 30—32, VV. 1—7.

¹⁹. *Ibid*, Canto 23, VV, 15—19.

²⁰. *Ibid*, Canto 23.

“शेष भद्रनदीतीर्थ गयाग्राममवाप्नुयात्”

²¹. For Amarakavya Vamsavali see my paper in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Twenty-third Session, Indore, 1946, pages 65—67, Part III.

NAGPUR BHONSLE MARATHI PAPERS

By T. S. Shejwalkar

THE account of the Nagpur Bhonslas is comparatively an obscure corner of Maratha history up till now, due mainly to the want of original local records. After the publication of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, a good deal of information based on original Marathi papers was brought to light. This, however, was only up to the times of the First Maratha War. The period of Nana Fadnis could not be covered by the papers published in these selections because the main records of this period remained in the personal archives of Nana Fadnis, whence they came to the Parasnis Museum of Satara. Pao Bahadur Parasnis published selections from this part (of the original Peshwa Daftar) in his "Itihasa-Samgraha" and separately in volumes of Mahadji Sindhia papers. Another selection from the Sindhia papers was published by the Satara Historical Society in two volumes, covering the Northern Indian affairs up to the death of Mahadji in 1794.

Nana Fadnis's correspondence with Mudhoji and Raghuji Bhonsle II however remained untouched. Three *rumals* in the Parasnis collection had these papers separately named and tied in bundles. Last year on my way to Nagpur, my curiosity led me to peep into these bundles and to my surprise, a larger number of unused, unnoticed and perhaps unseen original letters written from Nagpur by various persons, were discovered by me.

The three *rumals* mentioned above contain letters written by Janoji Bhonsle and his wife Daryabai, Mudhoji Bhonsle and his brother Bimbaji and sons Raghuji, Khandoji and Vyankoji. There are letters of the famous wise man of Maratha History—Divakar Purushottam, of whom we know up till now from the chronicles and references in the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* published by the Indian Government. There are letters from Bhavani Kalo, Bhavani Nagnath, Sridhar Lakshman Munshi, Bahurao Vidya, Sadasiv Ram Gune, Lakshman Ballal and Naro Krishna Joshi and other courtiers and ambassadors at the court of Nagpur. Thus the period from 1774-1795 is well represented by the records in these two bundles. The third bundle contains news-letters from the court of Nagpur written by Sriram Sadasiv, Malharji and Ladoji Naik Worpe and Dattaji Toradmal covering these 21 years with intermittent gaps caused by the absence of the writers from Nagpur when they went to Poona or other places for consultation with Nana Fadnis, Haripant Phadke or with any other member of the Poona Government. These day-to-day accounts of the activities of the Nagpur court throw light not only on political matters but also give us an insight into the private lives of the various members in the court of Nagpur including all the members of the ruling Bhonsle House. The social and economic life of the Nagpur province, lives of various military captains and administrators, diplomatic tussles between the Nagpur Court on the one hand and the Peshwa, the Nizam and the English on the other, are well illustrated in these letters.

Reader in Maratha History in the Deccan Collogeo Post-Graduate and Research Institute at Poona, Mr. T.S. Shejwalkar has written several papers on Maratha History. He is an Associate member of the Commission on behalf of the Institute to which he belongs.

The political papers in this collection centre round four main events—viz. (1) the Barbhair affairs after the murder of Narayan Rao and Mudhoji Bhonsle's part in it ; (2) the first Maratha War and diplomacy with the English, the Peshwa and the Nizam ; (3) wars against Tipu and (4) events leading to the battle of Khardā in 1795. There are sidelights on Bhonslas hankering after the Mandla kingdom and effects of Nana Fadnis not to hand it over to the Bhonslas ; Bhonslas relations with the Bundelas, Bhopal, Indore and Gwalior. We get an idea of the administrative system of the Nagpur Bhonslas and the gradual spreading of their power in the jungle tracts of Bastar, Chhattisgarh and Orissa. We get a clue into the rivalry for power between the brothers Mudhoji and Bimbaji on the one hand and Raghuji and Khandoji on the other. The parts played by Chimabai, wife of Mudhoji and Anandibai wife of Bimbaji in political affairs can also be understood from these papers. The semi-independent attitude of the Nagpur Bhonslas and their cautious behaviour in their dealings with the Peshwa Court are well illustrated in this correspondence. The Bhonslas were conscious that they were equals of the Peshwa, being independent creations by the award of Shahu Chhatrapati of Satara. The complete backwardness of the Nagpur province and its comparatively secure situation in the centre of India due to geographical factors are clearly seen in the dealings of the Bhonslas with others. Though great in territory, Nagpur could never shoulder a corresponding burden in the affairs of the Maratha Empire.

Chronologically the first part of these papers holds before the reader's eye the towering personality of Divakar Purushottam, the Chief Diwan of Mudhoji Bhonsle. There are many misconceptions about the exact political status of some personalities like this Divakar Pant, Sakaram Bapu and Nana Fadnis. These papers give us some insight into the mind of Divakar Pant and his opinion about the other two of this trio. In the second part, the deterioration that set in at the court of Nagpur at the death of this statesman in 1781, is well reflected. Divakar had a good deal of influence over his master Mudhoji and thus controlled the policy to a large extent. After his death, the personal foibles of Mudhoji came to the fore. In the third part, we see the growing rivalry and quarrels between the sons of Mudhoji and his inability to guide them in the proper way. Khandoji alias Chimnabapu was a dauntless and adventurous captain who possessed the virtues of a typical Maratha together with all their drawbacks. His more cautious and cunning elder brother, Raghuji II, could never see eye to eye with Khandoji and the matter would have had serious consequences but for the sudden tragic death of Khandoji in the prime of his life, after Mudhoji's death, a death not unsuspected as brought about by foul means. In the fourth part, Raghuji's joining Nana Fadnis's party as against that of Mahadji Sindhia is well delineated, leading to Raghuji's part in the Khardā campaign against the Nizam. We get a complete idea of Nagpur about 1790 and the society during this period.

The Bengal campaign of Khandoji Bhonsle in 1780-81 is more fully depicted in these papers on the Maratha side. Up till now historians had to rely mainly on the English side, but now we know from these papers about the genesis, the conduct and the end of this ignominious campaign and the weaknesses which caused the debacle. The Maratha historians had diagnosed the cause as the treachery and secret understanding between Warren Hastings and Mudhoji. The diplomacy behind the facade can be seen in these papers and much of the blame can be taken away from the Nagpur court. The main cause was the inherent Maratha weaknesses

in the constitution of their confederacy and their backwardness in the European mode of warfare. The basic disunion amongst the members of the quadruple alliance against the British could not be healed even under the stress of common danger. The treacherous Haidar Ali proved himself more sincere in this alliance than the other members who doubted him all the while. The Nizam kept himself true to the tradition of his house in exerting himself the least and reaping all the advantages through diplomacy.

Warren Hastings knew the weaknesses of the various Indian powers and conducted the long drawn out war with a firm belief that none of these powers would remain together for long or jointly act under one command. All this is very well reflected in the diplomatic correspondence to be found in these bundles. Divakar Purushottam seems to have understood the position of the English better than Nana Fadnis and tried to act accordingly. He did not have the hatred and dread of the British power in his mind to the extent Nana Fadnis had. It seems to have been his intention to proceed to Calcutta and gain a first-hand knowledge of the British administration in India. Just before his death, Warren Hastings had called Divakar to meet him at Benares but the intended visit never materialised. Nana Fadnis never seems to have intended to visit Bombay for getting an insight into the English affairs. This shows the difference between the minds of these two rival statesmen. Divakar's whole effort was to keep the state of Nagpur as independent as possible while guaranteeing its safety. It was mainly he, who saved Nagpur from falling under the thumb of the Peshwa's court at Poona yet keeping intact its ties with the Central Government.

Though specimen news-letters of Sriram Sadasiv and Malharji Naik Worpe from this collection have already been printed and known to the students of Maratha History, and a few letters of Baburao Visvanath Vaidya from the same collection have been printed in the tenth Volume of V. K. Rajawade, it seems strange that nobody acted on the clue to discover their further letters lying in these bundles. I have now selected and got copied some 300 letters from this collection, mainly related to the first Maratha War and the career of Divakar Purushottam. These with a critical Introduction will be published this year by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona. I also intend to publish another Volume of these Nagpur papers mainly containing the news-letters of Malharji Naik Worpe, Dattaji Kusaji Toradmal and Ladoji Malherji Worpe which will give a vivid idea of the court of Nagpur for a full decade before the battle of Khardā in 1795. The selection, copying and arrangement of papers for publication will take another year.

MACARTNEY, THE CARNATIC AND TANJORE

By C. S. Srinivasachari

I

THE Company's attitude towards Tanjore from the first Governorship of Pigot was even more opposed to equity than their demands on the Nawabs of the Carnatic. It was regarded even during the years of the Coromandel wars as one of the main sources of money and supplies to the Company. The Nawab's demands on that kingdom which was his main tribute-paying source were persistent and exhausting. By casuistical justifications in which the Madras Council glibly acquiesced, the first attack on Tanjore on behalf of the Nawab took place in 1771; but the operations ended brusquely, since the Nawab was prepared to come to any understanding with the Raja rather than see the kingdom go into English possession as he apprehended would be the sequel of the capture of Tanjore by English forces, though the operations were conducted in his name and with his resources and at his expense. A disagreeable correspondence had taken place, previous to and alongside of the operations, about the sharing of the plunder of the Tanjore Fort and Palace when it should be taken, between the Nawab's son, Umdatul Umara who accompanied the expedition and the English.

After two years of continuous intrigues by the Nawab, British and Carnatic troops besieged the Tanjore Fort and captured it (August-September, 1773), and it was now handed over to the Nawab who occupied the kingdom, and imprisoned the Raja. The iniquity of this rape of Tanjore has been well pointed out by James Mill; and the period of the Nawab's administration of the kingdom was easily the worst epoch in its chequered and unfortunate history in the 18th century.

The Tanjore question was complicated not only by the Nawab's intentions aided by his partisans, but also by the gravest disagreements between the Madras Governor and his Council leading up to the arrest of Pigot who had implemented the decision of the Directors, to restore the Raja and his confinement under guard. There was a regular deluge of pamphlets and papers, either explaining the right of the Nawab to Tanjore or refuting the arguments of Pigot's adherents and making out that the Tanjore Raja was the hereditary enemy of the Nawab and of the British and he was, "destitute of morality, but devoted to superstition".¹ These arguments even gathered momentum in the years of the crisis of the war with Mysore (1780-84); and consequently, persistent demands for the handing over of Tanjore to the Nawab continued.² It was openly argued that the Nawab's finances had been upset by the loss of the Tanjore

Late Professor C.S. Srinivasachari, who expired in August 1951, was until his death, an Expert Member of the IIRC, as a nominee of the Government of India. A renowned historian of the country, he was the author of many important publications based on original records. As Convenor of the Madras Regional Records Survey Committee he brought to light a large collection of records in private custody. After retiring from the University service as Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics of the Annamalai University, Professor Srinivasachari served as the Principal of R.D.M. College, Sivaganga, and Professor of History of Pachaiyappa's College, Kancheepuram.

¹. Original papers relative to Tanjore (1771), p. 40.

². A letter from Saiyid Asim Khan to Calcutta dated July 1, 1782, insinuated that Tanjore was unjustly wrested from the Nawab and given to Tuljaji because a certain personal matter of Lord Pigot was not settled to his satisfaction; and that Pigot himself told the Nawab that Tanjore should never have been wrested from him if he had come to an understanding with his lordship's agent at Madras in regard to certain of his private affairs, while his lordship was still in England. [Letter No. 543—*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI (1781)].

revenues, and thus, the only means by which his heavy debts could be paid off, had been taken away from him. After the outbreak of the war with Mysore the region of Tanjore enjoyed immunity from the depredations of Haidar Ali's cavalry only for about a year; but even after this period, it was argued, Raja Tuljaji did not give the least assistance either in men or money to the Company or the Nawab, although Vakils had been sent to him and a British Resident was appointed to his Court on behalf of the Government of Madras.

In 1781, the Nawab deputed Richard Joseph Sullivan and Saiyid Asim Khan to the Governor-General to secure his rights by means of a treaty which he readily agreed to (April 1781); and Sullivan was by order of the Supreme Government, appointed Resident Minister at the Nawab's court to see that the terms of the treaty were duly observed. When Lord Macartney became the Governor of Madras, Warren Hastings was eager to get his support and first assured him that if he had known of his appointment earlier, he would not have accepted the Nawab's offer, but would have referred him to the new administration that would be soon functioning at Madras.

Macartney objected to Sullivan's appointment as Resident with the Nawab as well as to the interference of the Supreme Government in the Carnatic whose affairs had been hitherto conducted solely by the Madras Presidency. The Government of Bengal nevertheless maintained that the treaty made by it was irrevocable. They however agreed to support any measures that Macartney's Government might take for realising the Carnatic revenues, if due provision was made for the Nawab and his family and also for the Nawab's private creditors. Before Macartney became acquainted with these views of Hastings, he had induced the Nawab in December 1781, to agree to assign all the revenues of the Carnatic to the Madras Government. The Nawab had stipulated to Hastings that he would only insist on the recognition of his sovereign rights in the Carnatic, and the latter was astonished at the alacrity shown by the Nawab in his offer to hand over his revenues to Supreme Government.

Though at first the Nawab agreed to the assignment of his revenues to the Madras Government, he was blamed for infringing the terms of the assignment; and Macartney loudly complained that the revenues collected were being diverted to the Nawab at Chepauk, rather to his son Amiru'l Umara who directed his affairs. "Hastings's first reaction to this was to advise Macartney to take complete charge of the administration of the Carnatic revenues", and even "In a word, the whole Sovereignty, if it shall be necessary to the effectual exercise of such a charge not admitting of the inter-position of any authority whatever".³

The subsequent action of Macartney to issue himself both the *sanads* and the *qabuliyats* for the revenue collections, when the Nawab objected to confirm the appointment of certain collectors nominated by the Governor

³. pp.f. of XIV of Introduction to C.C. Davies's edition of *The Private Correspondence of Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras (1781—85)* Camden Third Series, Vol. LXXVII, 1950.

and refused to grant them the confirmatory *sanade*, was denounced by Calcutta as constituting a definite infringement on, and an unwarranted assumption of the Nawab's sovereign rights guaranteed to him by the Supreme Government, which forthwith ordered Macartney to restore the assignment (January 1783). Macartney refused to restore the assignment to the Nawab, as such an action would have been "tantamount to surrendering the revenues of the Carnatic to Amiru'l Umara and the notorious Paul Benfield with whom he was in close collision." John Macpherson wrote to Macartney from Calcutta, advising him to follow a more politic and pliant attitude.⁴

The sequel was that though the Court of Directors cancelled the agreement of Calcutta (of April 1781) and revoked the appointment of R. J. Sullivan "as tending to lessen the authority of the Government of Madras", powerful interests were at work in England which continued to influence the newly appointed Board of Control and contrived to persuade the latter body to order the restoration of the assignment to the Nawab.

The further sequence may be summarised thus: Hastings was anxious to retain the support of the Arcot Interest in England hence he ordered Madras to cancel the Nawab's assignment of his revenues. Macartney appealed against this order to the Directors. Among the latter the powerful Lawrence Sullivan and his ally, Atkinson, who was Benfield's agent, endeavoured not only to get the assignment annulled, but also to secure the payment of the claims of the Nawab's creditors. Sullivan was probably ready to support Atkinson in the matter of the private debts of the Nawab, on condition that the latter should join forces with him to get the assignment cancelled.⁵ On his side, the Nawab played off the claims of his creditors which were both doubtful in origin and exaggerated in amounts, against the claims of the Company on him and deliberately admitted the justice of the demands of his private creditors.

The Directors, under the influence of Atkinson and Sullivan, objected strongly to the clause in the preliminary draft of Pitt's India Bill which Dundas had forwarded to them asking them to investigate into the justice of the Nawab's debts and to establish a fund for the discharge of such portion of them as should appear to be valid. The Directors resolved that

⁴. Letter, dated Calcutta, 31 August 1782 (No. 63) of C.C. Davies; *The Private Correspondence of Lord Macartney*.

"It is true the Nabob's cause is unpopular at home, and so is Benfield's; and a man of your Rank, connections and Principles has every advantage in exposing their Counteractions and in drawing public attention to your labour and firmness in carrying through your Plans for extracting something out of Ruin for the Public Service.

Still it will be said 'could not Lord Macartney effect the same purposes with more addresses and less injury to former Alliances and Friendships.'

There are points, my Lord, believe me, beyond which it is dangerous to the public Interest to go even to support that Interest. You must look to the whole while you are maintaining a Part. An act of any very great Severity against our Old Ally or any of his family tho it should get us two Lacks of Pagodas at this moment in the Carnatic, might cost us twenty hereafter from its Influence around Bengal. And the question will always be if the necessity of the time ability and temper have rendered it less painful to the sufferer;

I like not your present disputes with the Dular. They can lead to no good for either the public or yourself much less can they turn out well for the Nabob, Nay I see in them much but are trouble to your Lordship, and a field of favourable attack to your Enemies, and who is without Enemies."

⁵. James Macpherson, the Nawab's agent in England, followed Atkinson along with Robinson and others, in deserting the Coalition of Fox and North and joining Pitt.

“while the Nawab continues to declare that all his acts are just..... to enquire into the ground of his debts appears therefore wholly useless”; and they urged that the clause in question should be omitted from the bill.

II

In his dealings with Tanjore, Macartney was equally unfortunate. Shortly prior to his accession the Madras Council had rejected the offer of the Tanjore Raja to give jewels to the value of 30,000 pagodas and the balance in grain and to assign lands yielding one lakh of pagodas annually for two years as deposit. The Council had also urged the removal of Buchenah from the Raja's administration as he was deemed to have been treacherous towards the English cause. In October 1781, we learn from the Madras Military Consultations that Macartney was using his best endeavours to persuade Sir Hector Munro to assume control of the Tanjore country since it was the eve of the expedition against the Dutch at Negapatam which was captured in November 1781. Stephen Sullivan was appointed Resident and pay master at Tanjore since Davidson and Jourdan, the previous English emissaries, were not able to obtain any effective assistance from the Raja. A note of the Council Consultations on the affairs of Tanjore, dated 5th February 1782, urged the necessity from obtaining from the Raja an agreement to assign his country to the British and to have Dabir Pandit appointed in the place of Buchenah, as minister.

The Directors had written a letter (5th July 1782) to the Raja demanding the annual payment of the subsidy as settled by Pigot, as well as of the *Peshkash* due to the Nawab and also the cession of Nagore and the surrounding *maganams* to the Company.⁶

A letter from the Nawab to Calcutta, dated 26 March, 1781 held that ever since Tanjore had been given to a *ryot* of his (Tuljaji), no advantage had accrued from it to the Company's concerns; but, on the contrary, the Raja was secretly in league with Haidar Ali and the Marathas and had refused to supply the Company with any stores and money, and had all the while kept all his treasures in the Dutch settlement at Negapatam. The Nawab desired that if the restoration of Tanjore to him was not possible, the whole collections from that Kingdom might be appropriated to the payment of the Carnatic army, to the expulsion of Haidar Ali and to the liquidation of his own public and private debts.⁷

Hastings was so worked upon by the Nawab's arguments and by his Vakil, Saiyed Asim Khar, and R. J. Sullivan, that he wrote to Macartney in July 1781 thus:—“I can say little upon the Subject of Tanjore, for I can hardly allow it the credit of a serious Argument. The meanness of our first Settlers dignified the Rajah with the Title of King, and by that misnomer, if I may call it so, he has acquired all the Prerogative of Royalty, though the Nabob, his undoubted Sovereign has been without scruple treated as a Dependant. If these ridiculous prejudices are allowed to operate against every principle of Justice and Policy and (I must add) of common Sense, it is a pity that they could not be confined to the Season of Peace and Security. Surely this is not a time to encourage or yield to the Delusion.

⁶. These had been granted by a *sanad* of the Raja dated the 17th June 1778 and known as the Nagur Settlement.

⁷. As Tanjore was rightfully only a *taluk* of the Carnatic, the Nawab urged that a part of it should be assigned to his creditors, so that they might be pacified in some degree till his case should be finally decided by the Court of Directors. In this letter the Nawab declared that besides other liabilities he owed about seventy lakhs of pagodas to his European creditors only. [*Calendar of Persian Correspondence*—Vol. VI (1781-5), p. 44.]

The late President and Select Committee informed us that the Rajah had refused to contribute a Store of Grain to the Subsistence of the Army for which the President had written to him a letter expressive of his Displeasure. This is a Language so remote from my Conceptions of the actual and absolute Rights of your Government, while it is charged with the entire Defence of the State of which the Rajah of Tanjore is a Member; and of his Dependance, that I can scarce offer an Opinion which shall not appear extravagant in the Comparison. In a word, I think it improper at such a time to leave the Rajah of Tanjore an Option to withhold a Grain of his Store or a Rupee of his Treasury from the Services of the general State and most heartily advise, that while that service in the present desperate Condition of it lasts, the whole with the single Reservation of his own personal Subsistence, be taken out of his hands, in better Trust for the public Use. These are my public not private Sentiments and your Lordship is welcome to avail yourself of them in any manner you please. Most heartily do I wish that they may be confirmable to your own.”⁸

The injustice, proceeding out of injected prejudice, done to the Raja in this letter, is obvious.

Macartney's letter, dated 10th May 1783 to Warren Hastings expresses his reactions as to the Tanjore question and these are revealed fairly clearly in the following extracts taken from it.

“.....For, in their Answer to this Presidency, they (the Directors) thought it necessary to express their Extreme Surprise at Sentiments which they declared to be diametrically opposite to those which they entertained respecting the Rights of the Rajah of Tanjore, and other Powers connected with the Company, and repugnant to every idea of Justice and Moderation, and also to the Agreement subsisting with the Rajah. They took the precaution of writing a Letter to his Excellency by the same Dispatch assuring him of their unalterable Determination to support and protect him in the management and Government of his own Territories and to guarantee to him and his family the quiet Possession of his Country. They sent us a Copy of this Letter for our Notice; and signified to us that we must govern ourselves in all our Transactions with the Rajah agreeably to those Determinations. Declarations so strong and pointed, Commands so precise and positive, accompanying the formal Expression of their hope and trust that your Sentiments had made no impression upon the minds of their Representatives here that might prove derogatory to the Rights of the Rajah, sufficiently denoted that they thought their hope and Trust required to be fortified by their Orders, and that we might foresee in case of failure, the aggravation of our Guilt from the Contrast between that hope and Trust and our Conduct. And yet all this did not render it superfluous, in their opinion towards guarding us against yours, to add in the same Letter that if we had already in pursuance of your Recommendation taken the Revenue of Tanjore in assignment and put them under a Commission similar to that proposed for the Carnatic, it was their Command that such Committee

8. *The Private Correspondence of Lord Macartney Governor of Madras (1781-1785)*—edited by C.C. Davies (1950)—letter 88, p. 142.

should be instantly abolished, and the Collection of the Revenues left, as they ought to be, to the Directions of the Rajah himself. It must be confessed that my Answer to your Letter, and which I committed with it home to the same fate, afforded sufficient ground for foreseeing my intention of applying your Advice to the Construction of my public Measures, and for considering my object to be the Diminution of my own Responsibility by the weight of your Character and Experience. In that Answer I avowed my Respect and partiality for your opinions. I declared my inclination to adopt my Conduct to them; and, in the particular instance of the Rajah of Tanjore, I implicitly relied on your assertion of an error having been originally committed in translating that Indian Title or Appellation; I gave assurances of my Determination to avoid the Consequences of such an Error; I enclosed the Plan of Finance which I thought suitable to the Situation of that Prince and of the Times; and I wished it to be considered as an indication that the Settlement of that Country came within my Contemplation as well as the Remainder of the Carnatic.⁹

III

Macartney's asseveration as to his not having received as bribe or consideration even one pagoda from the rulers of the country was made in his letter of 26th April 1782 to J. Sullivan with whose conduct at Tanjore he declared himself most satisfied as he wrote in his letter of 27th March 1782, to L. Sullivan, Chairman of the Court of Directors.¹⁰

Macartney also denied Hastings's implied accusation of him that because he (Macartney) had transmitted to England extracts of his letter relative to Tanjore with a view that they might operate to his prejudice.¹¹

This Macartney did in order to strengthen his own case with the Directors. Unfortunately, as Dr. Davies has explained in his Introduction to *The Private Correspondence of Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras 1781-1785*, before Macartney's letter reached London, Hastings's partisans had lost control in the Court of Directors and the Governor-General had been censured for his proposals against the Tanjore Raja. Holding that it was Macartney that had been the cause of this censure Hastings blamed him for his supposed betrayal and

⁹. *Private Correspondence of Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras (1781-85)*—edited by C.C. Davies (1950). p. 133.

¹⁰. Macartney expressed himself thus; out of flattery of the all-powerful Chairman of the Direction. "It is impossible to express to you how much satisfaction I feel from John Sullivan's conduct at Tanjore. He is every thing you can wish him. I am quite at my ease with respect to that part of the Carnatic as long as he is there. I should have sent his brother Richard to Poonah, if his unlucky commission at the Durbar, had not put it totally out of my power."

¹¹. "My Letter certainly had not operated at all on the 28th of May, at the time Resolution of the House of Commons past, for my Dispatches did not arrive in London till several days after. There is another Matter too in which I see he has suffered himself to be grossly imposed upon, namely that Mr. Burke supported my Interest. (Letter to W. Dunkin, 21st May 1783, p. 217 of *Private Correspondence of Lord Macartney*.)

indignantly demanded an adequate and satisfactory explanation. This was a serious cause of misunderstanding between the two.¹³

Regarding Macartney's further dealings with Tanjore we learn from the Military Consultations of Fort St. George, of 15th June 1783, that he refused the Raja's request for establishing a mint at his capital and also that he discountenanced his proposal to raise some battalions of sepoys, *without European Officers* for his own service. The Raja continued to press the Presidency in vain for a settlement of his long-standing request that Arni and Hanumantagudi which he claimed respectively from the Nawab and the Maravan Chief, might be restored to him.

In November 1783 an Assistant Resident was appointed to the Tanjore Court. The Raja had been asked repeatedly to bear his share of the extraordinary expenses of the Mysore War; and Sullivan, the Resident, was ordered among other things, to define and enforce the limits between the Raja's authority and that of the Officer Commanding the English garrison in the Tanjore Fort itself.¹³

Peremptory orders were issued to the Raja, soon after peace was concluded with France for the immediate cession of four *maganams* round Karikal to the French, which he was loath to do. These orders were coupled with the following observation, anticipating the language of later Imperialists like Dalhousie in Macartney's letter to Resident Sullivan, dated 14 March 1784—"We are confident that the Rajah is too sensible of his dependence on our support to hesitate in making this sacrifice to the future peace and preservation of the country and of our common interests".

Thus was treated with little courtesy and justice, Raja Tuljaji who had already laid himself completely at the mercy of the English, when he was restored to the throne after the crisis of 1773—76, by Pigot; and then he had protested thus: "Had I a thousand tongues they could not express my gratitude. I shall ever consider myself as nourished and protected by the Company. The Country of Tanjore is the Company's. I have only to beg they will preserve my honour."

It may be instructive to note that the emasculation of Tanjore which was completed in the treaty of 1787 concluded with Amar Singh the successor of Tuljaji, required the Raja to provide contribution to ordinary piece establishment; *peshkash* due to the Nawab (now assigned to the Company); an annual payment towards the liquidation of assigned *peshkash* and of the private debts of the Raja to British subjects.¹⁴ Thus was the 'Granary of South India' impoverished beyond any possibility of quick recovery.

¹³. Macartney's reply should have convinced Hastings of his innocence, but matters had gone too far for a reconciliation. Macpherson appears to have been the villain of the piece for, when news reached India that Macartney's friends were striving to secure his appointment as Hastings' successor, Macpherson made no attempt to eradicate from Hastings' mind the suspicion that Macartney was intriguing to supplant him, although Macartney had begged him to do so.

¹⁴. *Vide*, his letter to the Court of Directors, 14th May 1776 (Rous' Appendix No. XXVIII 1372).

Between Hastings and Macartney both the Carnatic and Tanjore were brought several steps nearer to the stage of an almost complete impotence and the stage was set ready for their final mediatiation by Wellesley and the Madras Governor Baron Clive.

¹⁴. Item (1) bore the proportion of $\frac{2}{5}$ ths to the whole revenues of the Kingdom. The Raja's quota towards the general expenses of the war was to be $\frac{1}{5}$ of the whole total; and he was to pay $\frac{4}{5}$ of his gross revenue annually until it was liquidated; only the ordinary peace contribution was to be in abeyance during this time. The payments during peace time amounted to over 700060 star pagodas.

